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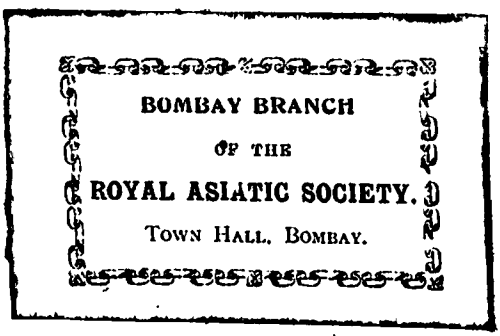

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THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

LLIAM WARBURTON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

A NEW EDITION,

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

DISCOURSE BY WAY OF GENERAL PREFACE;

CONTAINING

OME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR;

BY RICHARD HURD, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

OF THE

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DEDICATION

TO THE EDITION OF

BOOKS IV. V. VI. OF THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES;

1765.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM LORD MANSFIELD,

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

MY LORD,

THE purpose of this Address is not to make a return for the favours I have received from you, for they are many and great; but to add one more security to myself, from the malice of the present and the forgetfulness of future times. A purpose, which though it may be thought less sober than the other, is certainly not more selfish. In plain terms, I would willingly contrive to live, and go down to posterity under the protection of your Name and Character; from which, that Posterity, in the administration of public justice, must receive their instruction; and in the duties of private life, if they have any virtuous ambition, will take their example.—But let not this alarm you. I intend not to be your Panegyrist. To praise you for Eloquence, would be to praise you for a thing below your Character, unless it were for that species of Eloquence which MILTON describes, and You have long practised. "TRUE ELOQUENCE, says he, I find to be none, but "the serious and hearty love of Truth: And that, whose "mind soever is fully possessed with a fervent desire

" to know good things, and with the dearest Charity to " infuse the knowledge of them into Others, WHEN " SUCH A MAN WOULD SPEAK, his words, like so many " nimble and airy Servitors, trip about him at command, " and in well-ordered Files, as he would wish, fall aptly " into their own places."

To live in the voice and memory of Men is the flattering dream of every adventurer in Letters; and, for me, who boast the rare felicity of being honoured with the friendship of two or three superior Characters, Men endowed with virtue to atone for a bad age, and of abilities to make a bad age a good one, for me not to aspire to the best mode of this ideal existence, the being carried down to remote ages along with those who will never die, would be a strange insensibility to human glory.

But as the protection I seek from your Lordship is not like those blind Asylums founded by Superstition to skreen iniquity from civil vengeance, but of the nature of a TEMPLE OF JUSTICE, to vindicate and support the Innocent, You will expect to know the claim I have to it; and how, on being seized with that epidemic malady of idle, visionary men, the *projecting to instruct and reform the Public*, I came to stand in need of it.

I had lived to see—it is a plain and artless tale I have to tell—I had lived to see what Lawgivers have always seemed to dread, as the certain prognostic of public ruin, that fatal Crisis when RELIGION HATH LOST ITS HOLD ON THE MINDS OF A PEOPLE.

I had observed, almost the rise and origin, but surely very much of the progress of this evil: for it was neither so rapid to elude a distinct view, nor yet so slow as to endanger one's forgetting or not observing the relation which its several parts bore to one another: And to trace the steps of this evil may not be altogether useless to those, whoever they may be, who, as the Instruments of Providence, are destined to counterwork its bad effects.

The most painful circumstance in this relation is (as your Lordship will feel), that the mischief began amongst our friends; by men who loved their Country; but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their Object, the security of its CIVIL LIBERTY.

To

To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy Accession of that illustrious House to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful Monarchs, at the head of a free People, to bestow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of Subjects.

It fortuned that at this time, some warm friends of the Accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily perhaps suspected that the CHURCH (or at least that party of CHURCHMEN which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred Æra from whence we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the People, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against these its most pestilent enemies, the JACOBITE CLERGY. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a Popish Hierarchy, they virtually deprived the CHURCH of every power and privilege, which, as a simple Society, she had a claim to; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-Creature of the State. Their success (with the prejudice of Power, and what is still stronger, the power of Prejudice, on their side) became yet the easier, as the Tory Clergy, who opposed these Erastian notions, so destructive to the very being of a Church, reasoned and disputed against the Innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed supported on no sounder a bottom than the authority of Papal, or (if they like it better) of Puritanical usurpations: principles, to speak without reserve, ill founded in themselves, and totally inconsistent with the free administration of Civil government.

In this then, that is, in humbling disaffected Churchmen, the friends of Liberty and the Accession carried their point. But in conducting a purpose so laudable at any time, and so necessary at that time, They had,

as we observe, gone much too far; for instead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preserving it from its two greatest dishonours, the becoming factious, or the being made the tool of Faction, which was all that true Politics required, and all perhaps that these Politicians then thought of; their Instruments, by discrediting every right it had, and even stripping it of some of them, in a little time brought it into general contempt.

But this was not the worst. These Enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the Enemies of Religion itself; who, at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good Patriots, and serving the State against the encroachments of Church-power, took all occasions to vent their malice against Revelation itself: And Passion, inflamed by opposition, mixing with Politics throughout the course of this affair, these Lay-writers were connived at; and, to mortify rebellious Churchmen still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against Religion, just as the Clergy-writers had been, for their exploits against Church-government. And one man in particular, the Author of a well-known book called *The Independent Whig*, early a favourite, and to the last a Pensioner, carried on, in the most audacious and insulting manner, these two several attacks, together: A measure supported perhaps in the execution, by its coinciding with some Statesmen's *private opinions:* though the most trite maxims of Government might have taught such to separate their private from their *public* Character. However, certain it is, that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of Free-writing were gotten into the hands of the PEOPLE.

And now the business was done: and the sober Friends of the Government were become, before they were aware, the Dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence of a Church, or rather of a party of Churchmen inauspicious to a free State, they had occasioned at least, the loosening all the ties which till then Religion had on the minds of the Populace: and which till then, Statesmen had ever thought were the best security the Magistrate had for

their obedience. For though a *rule of right* may direct the Philosopher to a principle of action; and the *point of honour* may keep up the thing called Manners amongst Gentlemen; yet nothing but *Religion* can ever fix a sober standard of behaviour amongst the common People.

But those bad effects not immediately appearing, our Politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some COLLATERAL advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise, would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now Religion having lost its hold on the People; the Ministers of Religion were of no further consequence to the State; nor were Statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent, for the honours of their Profession: And without necessity, how few would submit to such a drudgery! For Statesmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehensive of a little sense, and not easily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude, in those they have to deal with. All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the use of Government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the Great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to their System. For though stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, had abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting Revelation of imposture, serving only for a State-engine, had destroyed all love for Religion; yet they were the INTRIGUES OF CHURCH-PROMOTION which would make the People despise the whole Ordinance.

Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's present fears or feelings. The People had been reasoned out of their Religion, by such Logic as it was: and if ever they were to be brought back to a sober sense of their condition, it was evident they must be reasoned into it again. Little thought and

less learning were sufficient to persuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it must be no common share of both, which, in opposition to those vices, shall be able to bring them to themselves. And where is that to be expected, or likely to be found? In the course of forty or fifty years (for I am not speaking of present transactions) a new Generation or two are sprung up: And those, whom their Profession has dedicated to this service, Experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune lie very remote from such as enable men to figure in a rational defence of Religion. And it is very natural to think that, in general, they will be chiefly disposed to cultivate those qualities on which they see their Patrons lay the greatest weight.

I have, my Lord, been the longer and the plainer in deducing the causes of a recent evil, for the sake of doing justice to the ENGLISH CLERGY; who in this instance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their Betters. How common is it to hear the irreligion of the times ascribed to the vices or the indiscretions of Churchmen! Yet how provoking is such an insult! when every child knows that this accusation is only an Echo from the lewd clamours of those very Scribblers whose flagitious writings have been the principal cause of these disorders.

In this disastrous state of things, it was my evil stars which inclined me to write. I began, as these Politicians had done, with the CHURCH. My purpose, I am not ashamed to own, was to repel the cruel inroads made upon its Rights and Privileges; but, I thank God, on honester principles than those which have been employed to prop up, with Gothic buttresses, a Jacobite or High-Church Hierarchy. The success was what I might expect. I was read; and by a few indifferent and intelligent Judges, perhaps, approved. But as I made the CHURCH neither a Slave nor a Tyrant (and under one or other of these ideas of it, almost all men had now taken party) *The Alliance between Church and State*, though formed upon a Model actually existing before our eyes, was considered as an Utopian refinement. It is true, that so far as my own private satisfaction

fiction went, I had no great reason to complain. I had the honour to be told by the heads of one Party, that they allowed my *principles** ; and by the heads of the other, that they espoused my *conclusion*† ; which however amounted only to this, that the One was for LIBERTY, however they would chuse to employ it; and the Other for POWER, however they could come at it.

I had another important view in writing this book.—Though nobody had been so shameless to deny *the use of Religion to civil Government*, yet certain friends of Liberty, under the terror of the mischiefs done to Society by Fanaticism, or Religion run mad, had, by a strange preposterous policy, encouraged a clamour against ESTABLISHMENTS: the only *mode* of Religion which can prevent what they pretended to fear; that is, its degenerating into Fanaticism. It is true, had these Clamourers not found more enemies to the *Establishment* than they had made, (enemies on solider grounds, to wit, the sense of their exclusion from the emoluments of a national Church) an *Establishment* had hardly given umbrage to the appointed Protectors of it. But these had the Sectaries to caress: and a private and pressing interest will often get the better of the most indispensable maxims of good policy.

It was for this reason, my Lord, that so much of the book is employed in the defence of a *national* or an *established* Religion; since, under such a Form, FANATICISM can never greatly spread: and that little there will always be of this critical eruption of our diseased Nature, may have the same good effect on the *Established Religion* which weak Factions are observed to have on the administration of Government; it may keep men more decent, alert, and attentive to the duties of their Charge.

Where then was the wonder, that a subject so managed, and at such a juncture, should be violently opposed, or, to speak more truly, be grossly misrepresented? Those in the new system accused me of making the State a slave to the Church; those in the old, of making the Church a slave to the State: and one passionate Declaimer, as I remember, who cared equally

* Bishop Ho. † Bishop Sh.

for Church and State, was pleased to say, that, the better to *hunter* mankind, I had done both *.

Having thus, in the foolish confidence of Youth, cast in my Goosequill, to stem a torrent that in a little time was to bear down all before it; I proceeded, with the same good faith, in another romantic effort, The support of RELIGION itself.

You, my Lord, who feel so humanely for the Injured, on whomsoever POPULAR INJUSTICE may chance to fall, have hardly forgotten the strange reception with which this my fair endeavour was entertained; and principally by Those whose interests I was defending. It awaked a thousand black passions and idiot prejudices. The Zealots inflamed the Bigots.

—'Twas the Time's plague,
When madmen led the blind.

For, the noble prosecution of real Impiety was now over; or, at least, no longer serious. What remained, to belie a zeal for Religion, was a ridiculous Tartuffism; ridiculous, because without the power to persecute: otherwise, sufficiently serious, as it was encouraged by men, at that time, in eminence of place †. For false Zeal and unbelieving Politics always concur, and often find their account in suppressing NOVELTIES.

But things, unnaturally kept up in a state of violence, in a little time subside: And though the first Writers, let loose against me, came on as if they would devour; yet the design of those who, at spring and fall, have ever since annually succeeded them, has been, I think, only to cat. The imputation that yet sticks to my notions, amongst many well-meaning men, is, that they are PARADOXICAL. And though this be now made the characteristic of my Writings, yet, whether from the amusement which *Paradoxes* afford, or from whatever other cause of malice or curiosity, the Public seem still sufficiently eager to see what, in spite of the Argument, and perhaps in spite to it, they are pleased to call my CONCLUSION. And as in your Lordship's progress through your high Stations (for I will not take my comparison lower while my subject is public favour) men no

* Lord B. † Archbishop P.

sooner

sooner found you in one than they saw you necessary for a higher; so every preceding Volume seemed to excite a stronger appetite for the following; till, as I am told, it came to a kind of impatience for the *last:* which must have been strangely obstinate if in all this time it has not subsided. And yet it is very possible it may not: For, the good-natured pleasure of seeing an Author fill up the measure of his Paradoxes, is worth waiting for. Of all men, I would not appear *vain* before your Lordship; since, of all men, You best know how ill it would become my *pride.* Nor am I indeed in much danger to have my head turned by this flattering circumstance, while I remember that RABELAIS tells us, and I dare say he tells us truth, that the Public of his times were full as impatient for the *conclusion* of the unfinished story of the giant Gargantua and his son Pantagruel.

I have now, both leisure and inclination to gratify this Public fancy, after having put my last hand to these two Volumes: A work of reasoning; and though fairly pursued, and, as I thought, brought home to its CONCLUSION, yet interspersed with variety of Philologic dissertations: For I had to do with a sort of Readers not less delicate than the fastidious Frenchman, who tells us in so many words, that—*La* RAISON *a tort des qu'elle* ENNUYE. As my purpose therefore was to bring *Reason* into good Company, I saw it proper now and then, to make her wait without, lest by her constant presence she should happen to be thought tiresome. Yet still I was careful not to betray her rights: and the Dissertations brought in to relieve the oppressed attention of the Reader, was not more for his sake than for hers. If I was large in my discourse concerning the nature and end of the Grecian MYSTERIES, it was to shew the sense the antient Lawgivers had of the *use of Religion to Society:* and if I expatiated on the origin and use of the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS, it was to vindicate *the logical propriety of the Prophetic language and sentiment.* For I should have been ashamed to waste so much time in classical amusements, and at last to join them to your Lordship's Name, had they not had an intimate relation to the things most connected with Man and his interests.

I have

I have detained your Lordship with a tedious Story; and still I must beg your patience a little longer. We are not yet got to the end of a bad prospect.——While I, and others of my Order, have been thus vainly contending *pro Aris* with the unequal arms of Reason; we had the further displeasure to find, that our Rulers (who, as I observed above, had needlessly suffered those ties of Religion to be unloosed, by which, till of late, the passions of the People had been restrained) were struggling, almost as unsuccessfully, *pro Focis* with a corrupt and debauched Community.

General History, in its Records of the rise and decay of States, hath delivered down to us, amongst the more important of its lessons, a faithful detail of every symptom, which is wont to forerun and to prognosticate their approaching ruin. It might be justly deemed the extravagance of folly to believe, that those very *Signs*, which have constantly preceded the fall of other States, should *signify* nothing fatal or alarming to our own. On the other hand, I would not totally condemn, in such a dearth of Religious provision, even that species of piety, which arises from a national pride, and flatters us with being the peculiar attention of Heaven; who will avert those evils from his favoured People, which the natural course of things would otherwise make inevitable: For, indeed, we have seen (and, what is as strange as the blessing itself, the little attention which is paid to it) something very like such an extraordinary protection already exerted; which resists, and, till now, hath arrested, the torrent just ready to overwhelm us. The circumstance, I mean, is this:—That while every other part of the Community seems to lie *in fœce Romuli*, the administration of Public Justice in England, runs as pure as where nearest to its cœlestial Source; purer than Plato dared venture to conceive it, even in his feigned Republic.

Now, whether we are not to call this, the interposing hand of Providence; for sure I am, all History doth not afford another instance of so much purity and integrity in one part, coexisting with so much decay and so many infirmities in the rest: Or whether, profounder Politicians may not be able to discover some hidden force,

force, some peculiar virtue in the essential parts, or in the well-adapted frame, of our excellent Constitution?—In either case, this singular and shining Phenomenon, hath afforded a cheerful consolation to thinking men, amidst all this dark aspect from our disorders and distresses.

But the evil Genius of England would not suffer us to enjoy it long; for, as if envious of this last support of Government, he hath now instigated his blackest Agents to the very extent of their malignity; who, after the most villanous insults on all other Orders and Ranks in Society, have at length proceeded to calumniate even the King's Supreme Court of Justice, under its ablest and most unblemished Administration.

After this, who will not be tempted to despair of his Country, and say, with the good old man in the Scene,

- - - "Ipsa si cupiat SALUS
"Servare, prorsus non potest, hanc FAMILIAM."

ATHENS, indeed, fell by degenerate manners like our own: but she fell the later, and with the less dishonour, for having always kept inviolable that reverence which she, and indeed all Greece, had been long accustomed to pay to her august Court of AREOPAGUS. Of this modest reserve, amidst a general disorder, we have a striking instance in the conduct of one of the principal Instruments of her ruin. The witty ARISTOPHANES began, as all such Instruments do (whether with wit or without) by deriding *Virtue* and *Religion*; and this, in the brightest exemplar of both, the godlike SOCRATES. The Libeller went on to attack all conditions of Men. He calumniated the Magistrates; he turned the Public Assemblies into ridicule; and, with the most *beastly* and *blasphemous* abuse, outraged their Priests, their Altars, nay, the very established Gods themselves.—But here he stopped; and, unawed by all besides, whether of divine or human, he did not dare to cast so much as one licentious trait against that venerable Judicature. A circumstance, which the Readers of his witty ribaldry, cannot but observe with surprise and admiration;—not at the Poet's modesty, for he had none, but at the remaining virtue of a debauched and ruined

ruined People; who yet would not bear to see that clear Fountain of Justice defiled by the odious Spawn of Buffoons and Libellers.

Nor was this the only consolation which ATHENS had in its calamities. Its pride was flattered in falling by apostate Wits of the first Order: while the Agents of public mischief amongst us, with the hoarse notes and blunt pens of Ballad-makers, not only accelerate our ruin, but accumulate our disgraces: Wretches the most contemptible for their parts, the most infernal for their manners.

To conclude. Great Men, my Lord, are sent for the Times; the Times are fitted for the rest, of common make. ERASMUS and the present CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND (whatever he may think) were sent by Providence, for the sake of humanity, to adorn two periods, when RELIGION at one time, and SOCIETY at another, most needed their support; I do not say, of their great talents, but of that HEROIC MODERATION so necessary to allay the violence of public disorders; for to be MODERATE amidst party-extremes, requires no common degree of patriotic courage.

Such characters rarely fail to perform much of the task for which they were sent; but never without finding their labour ill repaid, even by those in whose service it was employed. That *glory of the Priesthood* left the World, he had so nobly benefited, with this tender complaint,—"Hoc tempore nihil scribi aut AGI "potest quod non pateat CALUMNIÆ; nec raro fit, ut "dum agis CIRCUMSPECTISSIME utramque partem of-"fendas, quum in utraque sint qui PARITER INSANI-"ANT." A complaint, fated, alas! to be the motto of every Man who greatly serves his Country.

I have the honour to be,
My LORD,
Your Lordship's most obliged,
most obedient and faithful Servant,

February 2, 1765. W. GLOUCESTER.

DEDICATION

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF

BOOKS IV. V. VI. OF THE

OF THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES;

1740.

TO THE JEWS.

SIRS,

THE purpose of this Work being to prove the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES, it will, I hope, have so much merit with you, as to engage your serious attention to the following Address; which, from the divinity of Moses's Law, as in this work demonstrated, attempts to shew you, how, by necessary consequence, it follows, that the Religion of JESUS is also divine.

But, while I am laying my conclusions before you, let me beseech you not to suffer yourselves to be prejudiced against the evidence, by such kind of fallacies as these; *Both Jews and Christians confess, that the religion of Moses came from* GOD: *but one only, of these two Sects, believe the divinity of that of* JESUS: *the safest way, therefore, is to adhere to what both sides own to be true.* An argument, which however like, hath not in all its parts, even so much force as what the idolatrous Romanists are wont to urge against the Reformed—*That as both parties hold salvation may be had in the church of Rome, and only one party holds it*

may

may be had in the churches of the Reformed, it is safest to adhere to Popery: which I dare say you laugh at for its impertinence, how much soever you may have deluded others by the same kind of sophistry *. For if the Roman Catholics, or you, will not take our word for Christianity or Reformation, why do you build any thing upon it, in favour of Popery or Judaism? Both of you will say, perhaps, "because we are prejudiced in the former conclusion; but that the mere force of evidence extorts the latter from us even against ourselves." This is easily said; and may, perhaps, be easily believed, by those who, taking their Religion from their ancestors, are apt to measure Truth only by its antiquity. But genuine Christianity offering itself only to the private judgments of men, every sincere enquirer believes as he finds cause. So that if either you or they would give yourselves the trouble to examine our motives, it would appear, that the very same reasons which force us to conclude that Christianity in general, and the Reformed religion in particular, are true, force us at the same time to conclude that the Jewish was from God; and that salvation may be obtained, though with much difficulty, in the church of Rome. Either, therefore, the whole of our conclusion is prejudice, or no part of it is so.

As I would not have you harden your habitual obstinacy in favour of your own Religion, by bad arguments; so neither will I use any such to draw you over to ours.

I shall not therefore attempt that way to bring you to the truth, which some amongst us, little acquainted, as should seem, either with your Dispensation, or the Christian, imagine they have discovered: Who, taking it for granted that the Mosaic Law can be defended only by the Gospel of Jesus, pretend you must first acknowledge our Religion, before you can support your own: and so, which is very hard, will not allow you to have

* This, the miserable *Uriel Acosta* tells us, was one of the principal arguments that induced him to embrace *Judaism.*— Præterea veteri fœderi fidem dabant tam Judæi quam Christiani; novo autem fœderi soli Christiani. Exemplar humanæ vitæ, p. 346. Amica Collat. Phil. a Limborch.

any

any reasonable assurance of the truth of your Religion till you have forsaken it *. But I would not urge you with such kind of reasoning, if it were only for this, that I suspect you may not be such utter strangers to the New Testament as not to know, that it lays the foundation of Christianity in Judaism. Besides, right reason, as well as St. Paul (which with us, at present, are still the same thing) would teach you to reply to such Convertists: *Boast not against the branches of the native olive-tree: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee* †.

Much less would I employ, in this Address, the quainter project of our common Adversary, the FREE-THINKER. For you are to know, that as those I spoke of before, make Christianity too recent, so these make it as much too old; *even as old as the Creation.* Those fall short of the support of Judaism; These overleap it; and assure us, that the only way to bring you to believe in JESUS, is to prove Moses an impostor. So says a late writer: who, by the singular happiness of a good choice, having learnt his *morality* of our Tyndal, and his *philosophy* of your Spinoza, calls himself, by the courtesy of England, a MORAL PHILOSOPHER ‡.

The road I have taken is indeed very different: and the principles I go upon for *your* conversion, will equally serve, to *their* confutation. For I have shewn that the Law of Moses was from GOD; and, at the same time, that it is only PREPARATORY to the more perfect Religion of JESUS.

The limits of this Address will not allow me to point out to you any other arguments than what arise immediately from those important circumstances of the Law, discoursed of in this Work. Much less shall I have room to urge you with a repetition of those reasonings,

* "Dr. Rogers has declared, as I remember in one of his sermons, that he could not believe the truth of Moses's pretensions, were it not for the confirmation given to them by the Gospel. This I take to be a dangerous assertion, that saps the very foundation of Christianity; and supersedes at once the whole purpose of your intended work, by denying any original intrinsic character of divinity to the institution of Moses." Dr. Middleton's Letter to Mr. W. Nov. 30, 1736. vol. v. of his Works.

† Rom. xi. 18. ‡ MORGAN.

which

which Christian writers have already used with so superior a force against you.

Let us see then what it is that keeps you still enslaved to a galling Discipline, so long after the free offers of Redemption. The two principal reasons, I suppose, are these:

I. First, a presumption that the Religion of Moses is perfect; so full and complete in all its members as to be abundantly capable of supplying the spiritual wants of men, by preparing and fitting human nature for the enjoyment of the supreme Good, and by proposing and procuring the possession of that Good. Hence you conclude, and, were your presumption well-grounded, not unreasonably, that the Law was given as a perpetual ordinance, to be observed throughout all your generations for ever.

II. The second is a persuasion that the Prophecies (a necessary credential of the Messiah) which, we say, relate to JESUS, relate not to him in a *primary* sense; and that a *secondary* sense is a fanatic vision raised by deluded Christians to uphold a groundless claim.

For thus one of our common enemies, who hath inforced your arguments against us, tells the world, you are accustomed to speak. *All the books written by Jews against the Christian Religion* (says he) *some of which are printed, and others go about Europe in manuscript, chiefly attack the New Testament for the allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament therein, and with the greatest insolence and contempt imaginable on that account; and oppose to them a single and literal interpretation as the true sense of the Old Testament. And accordingly the allegorical interpretations given by Christian expositors of the Prophecies are now the grand obstacle and stumbling-block in the way of the conversion of the Jews to Christianity**.

These, it seems, are the two great impediments to your conversion. Give me leave then to shew you how the reasoning of this book removes them.

I. As to the *perfection* of your Religion, it is here proved, that, though it indeed had that specific per-

* Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion, pp. 82, 83.

fection,

fection, which no Religion coming from GOD can want*, that is, a full capacity of attaining its end, which was the separation of the race of Abraham from an idolatrous world; yet that it was *perfect* only in this restrained and relative sense. As to absolute independent perfection, the Law had it not.

1. That it had no *perfection* with regard to the *improvement of human nature* for the enjoyment of the supreme Good, I have shewn from the genius of your whole religious Worship; and its general direction against the various idolatries of those early ages. And in this I have a Doctor of your own, the famous MAIMONIDES, for my warrant: who indeed little thought, while he was proving this truth in so invincible a manner, that he was preparing the more reasonable part of his Brethren for the reception of the Gospel. It is true, some of your later writers have seen better into this consequence: and *Orobio*, in his dispute with Limborch, hath part of a chapter† to disprove, or, rather, to deny the fact. But if your religious Worship consist only of a multifarious burdensome Ritual, relative to the Superstitions of those early times, it must needs be altogether unable to perfect human nature in such a manner, as you do and must allow to be God's design, in a revealed Religion, universal and perpetual.

2. Again, as to the second branch of this perfection, the *proposing and procuring the possession of the supreme Good:* I have shewn that the Law of Moses revealed NO FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, but studiously declined the mention of any doctrine preparatory to it: that no Mosaical Tradition supplied this omission: and that it did not become a national doctrine amongst you till the later times of your republic; when it arose from various and discordant sources; and was brought in on foreign occasions. But it is certain, that that Religion must fall very short of absolute perfection, which wants a doctrine so essential to Religion in

* See this proved against Lord Bolingbroke, Book v § 2.

† The title of the chapter is: Quod ritualia non erant præcisè ut Israël ab aliis populis separaretur; neque lex neque populus propter Messiam, sed hic propter populum, ut ei inserviret, p. 86. Ed. Goud.

general*. And this, you yourselves at length seem to have been aware of: for though, during the existence of your Republic, the deniers of a future state, such as the Sadducees, were not cut off from the rights of the Synagogue; yet since that time, it hath been generally held by your Doctors for a *prime* cause of excommunication:—One of them says, that it is *the very funda-*

* Here Dr. Stebbing charges me with *contradiction*; [Exam. p. 9.] first in asserting, that *a future state made no part of the Religion of Moses*; and then that a *future state was essential to Religion in general*. Now this, which he is pleased to call a *contradiction*, I brought as an argument for the divinity of the Law, and supposed it to be conclusive by its consistency.—Where I speak of *Religion in general*, I explain my meaning to be, a *Religion universal and perpetual*, such as Natural Religion and the Christian; and from thence I argue, that if a future state be essential to a *Religion universal and perpetual*; and a future state be not found in the Religion of Moses, that then the Religion of Moses was not *universal and perpetual*, but local and temporary; the point I was inforcing, in order to bring over the Jews to the Gospel of Jesus. If the Doctor supposes, that what is essential in one species of Religion must be essential in the other, this is supposing them not to be of different species, but one and the same; that is, it supposes, that they are and that they are not of the same species.—But, continues our Doctor, "If you should "say, that your argument is levelled against the Jews, considered "only in their present state, in which they are not under an equal "Providence, *this answer will not serve you.* For as in their present "state they are not under any extraordinary Providence, so neither "do they want the doctrine of a future state, of which you tell us "they have been in possession long ago." p. 11. What pains does this learned Doctor take to make my application to the Jews, in favour of Christianity, ineffectual! Your Religion (say I to them) teaches no future state. You are at present under the common unequal Providence of Heaven. How disconsolate is your condition! Not so bad neither, replies their Advocate, Doctor Stebbing They now have a *future state*. How came they by it? By the *Law*? No matter, says he, they have it, and that is enough to destroy all the force of your persuasion to embrace the Gospel. Not altogether enough, good Doctor: for if they have not the future state by the *Law*, (and that truth I take for granted in this address to them, as I think I reasonably might, after I had proved it at large) their future state, even by their own confession, is a Phantom: and to gain the Substance, there is no way left but to embrace the Gospel. They themselves own this truth: for in the words quoted below, they confess that *to believe a future state, and yet that it was not revealed by the* LAW, *is the same thing as not to believe it at all.*—It is a sad thing when Polemics or blacker passions have gotten so entire possession of a man's heart, that he cares not what harm he does to a common cause, or even to common sense, so he can but ANSWER the man or the opinion he happens to dislike.

mental

*mental of fundamentals**;——Another, that *to deny this is the same thing as to deny* GOD *himself, and the Divinity of his Law*†: and a third, that *even to believe it, and yet not believe that it was revealed by the Law, is the same thing as not to believe it at all*‡.

But you will do well, when you have considered the force of those reasonings by which I prove a future state not to be revealed by the LAW of Moses, to go on with me, (for the free thoughts of many amongst you, concerning Revelation in general, give scandal to the professors of more than one Religion) while I prove, from thence, by necessary consequence, that this LAW came from GOD: And, in conclusion, join with me in adoring the infinite Wisdom of the GOD of your Fathers, here so wonderfully displayed, in making one and the same circumstance a standing evidence of the divinity of the Mosaic Religion, and, at the same time, an irrefragable proof that it was preparatory only to the Christian; The logical result of all our reasoning being the confirmation of this sacred truth, long since enounced by a great Adept in your Law, That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID §.

Permit me to observe farther, that this rabbinical notion of a future state of rewards and punishments in

* Scripsit Rab. (Maimon.) p. m. Articulus fundamentalis decimus tertius agit de resurrectione, cujus rationem (quomodo se habeat) & fundamenta jam exposuimus. Quod si homo crediderit fundamenta illa omnia, seque illa credere declaraverit, ingreditur Ecclesiam Israelis, & jubemur diligere illum, & misericordiam illi exhibere, & conversari cum illo juxta omnia, quæ præcepit Deus benedictus cuilibet erga proximum faciendа.—Si quis autem vilipenderit hoc fundamentum excellentium fundamentorum, ecce exit ille ex Ecclesia, quippe qui abnegat articulum fidei, & vocatur impius ac Epicureus, amputatque plantas, quem odio habere & perdere jubemur. Ex beth Elohim. Vid Dassovium de Resurrectione, Ed. 1693.

† Hæc fides [de Resurrectione mortuorum]——ilum retur inter articulos Legis & fundamenta ejus, quum qui negat, perinde facit acsi negaret esse Deum, legem esse a cœlo, & quod in aliis istis articulis tractatur. R. Saiomo ap. Dassovium de Resurrect.

‡ Oportet te scire articulum fidei de resurrectione mortuorum ex lege esse. Quod si quis fide firma crediderit resurrectionem mortuorum, non autem crediderit esse illam ex lege, ecce ille reputatur acsi hæc omnia negaret. R. Jehud. Zabara apud Dassov.

§ Heb. vii. 19.

the Mosaic Dispensation, which still encourages the remnant of your Nation to persist in rejecting the Gospel of Jesus, was the very prejudice which, in the first ages of Christianity, so superstitiously attached the Converts from Judaism, to the whole observance of the Law.

As a Corollary to all this, I have shewn, that the *punishment of Children for the crimes of their Parents*, which hath given a handle to the enemies of your Law to blaspheme, can be only well explained and vindicated on the Principle of *no future state* in the *Religion of Moses:* And farther, that, on this Principle, all the inextricable embarras of your Rabbins, in their endeavours to reconcile the different accounts of Moses and the Prophets concerning that method of punishment, is intirely removed, and a perfect harmony and concord is seen to reign amongst them. But at the same time that the Principle does this, take notice, it disables you from accounting for the length of your present dispersion. For the only reason your best defender, Orobio, had to assign for it was, that *you now suffer not for your own sins, but for the sins of your Forefathers.* But the Principle which reconciles Moses and the Prophets, shews that this mode of punishment hath long since ceased.

II. In answer to the *second* part, your prejudices against the credentials of Jesus's Messiahship, for the want of rational evidence in a *secondary sense* of Prophecy; I have proved those prejudices to be altogether vain and groundless: 1. By tracing up the nature of human converse in speech and writing, from its early original; and from thence evincing, that a *secondary sense of Prophecies* is proper, rational, and conformable to the justest rules of grammar and logic.—2. By shewing that this method of information was so exactly suited to the occasion, that if ever you were to have a *Messiah* to complete your Law, the body of the Prophecies, relating to him, must needs be given in the very manner which those in dispute are actually given: For that, had these Prophecies recorded the nature of the Messiah's Kingdom in plain and direct terms, it would have defeated the very end and purpose of the

Law. And this, on reflection, you will find a sufficient answer to those FOUR QUERIES into which your ablest Defender* has collected the whole strength of your cause.

As a Corollary, likewise, to this part, I shew, in order to reconcile you still farther to the Messiahship of JESUS, that the history of GOD's Dispensations to your Fathers, even before his giving the Law, can never be rightly understood, or fully cleared from the objections of Unbelievers, but on the supposition of the redemption of mankind by the death and sufferings of JESUS. And of this I have given a convincing proof in the famous history of the *Command to Abraham* to offer up his Son. Which I prove to be no other than a REVELATION of that Redemption, delivered in action instead of words. This strongly corroborates the Mission of JESUS, and should incline you seriously to consider its force.—Here God reveals to your father Abraham the Redemption of Mankind by the death and passion of his Son. Why then, I ask you, should you not conclude with our learned Apostle, that *to Abraham and his seed the Promises being made, the Covenant that was confirmed before of* GOD *in* CHRIST, *the* LAW *which was four hundred and thirty years after cannot disannul, that it should make the Promise of none effect*† *?*

Having thus shewn your Religion to be *partial*, *imperfect*, and *preparatory*; and consequently shewn the

* ORCBIO. 1. Ut assignetur locus aliquis in quo Deus mandaverit, aut dixerit expressè, quod fides in Messiam est absolutè necessaria ad salutem generis humani; adeo ut qui non crediderit damnandus esset.

2. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod unicum medium ad salutem Israelis, et restitutionis in divinam gratiam, est fides in Messiam jam adventum.

3. Ut assignetur locus, in quo Deus dixerit, quod Israel propter infidelitatem in Messiam erat deperdendus, et abjiciendus in nationibus, ut non sit amplius Populus Dei, sed in æternum damnandus donec Messiam adventum non credider.t.

4. Tandem assignetur locus, in quo dixit Deus, omnia Legalia præter moralia, fuisse umbram, seu figuram futurorum in adventu Messiæ, et quod fere omnia quæ & in divina Lege et in Prophetis fuere revelata, MYSTICE et TROPOLOGICE explicare liceat, quantumvis sensus literalis omnino despiciatur. Amica collatio Limb. p. 1, 2.

† Gal. iii. 16, 17.

necessity of its *completion* by the teaching of a *Messiah*; to whose character in the person of JESUS, I have endeavoured to reconcile you, by removing your only plausible objection, the mistaken nature of the Prophecies concerning him; As a Corollary to the whole, I have proved, in order to remove your prejudices for a worldly Prince, and a restoration to a carnal Dominion in Judea, that your race was not at first chosen by GOD, and settled in the land of Canaan, as his FAVOURITES, for whom he had a greater fondness than for other of the sons of Adam; but only to serve the general ends of Providence, in its Dispensations to the whole Species; which required the temporary separation of one People from the rest of Mankind, to preserve, amidst an idolatrous world, the great doctrine of the UNITY, as the foundation of that universal Religion to be dispensed by JESUS, when the fulness of time should come. Which time being now come, and the end obtained, you cannot but confess there is no further use or purpose of a *national separation.*

Let me add the following observation, which ought to have some weight with you. Whoever reads your history, and believes you, on your own word, to be still tied to the Religion of MOSES, and to have nothing to expect from that of JESUS, must needs regard you as a People long since abandoned of GOD. And those who neither *read* nor *believe*, will pretend at least to think you forsaken of all REASON. Our Scriptures alone give us better hopes of your condition: and excited by the Charity they inspire, I am moved to hazard this address unto you. For a time, as they assure us, will come, when this veil shall be taken from your hearts. And who knows how near at hand the day of visitation may be? At least, who would not be zealous of contributing, though in the lowest degree, to so glorious a work? For *if the fall of you be the riches of the World, and the diminishing of you the riches of the Gentiles, how much more your fulness* *! says the Apostle Paul. Who at the same time assures us, that *blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved* †.

* Rom. xi. 12. † Ver. 25, 26.

I know

I know you will be ready to say, "that much of this sort of Charity hath been preached to your People, even amidst the horrors of the Inquisition; and that it has always made a suitable impression: that indeed, in a land of liberty like Britain, you should have thought much more favourably of our good-will, had not a late transaction, in which your natural rights came in question, amply convinced you that Christian Charity is every where the same."

Sufferers, even imaginary ones, may be excused a little hard language; especially when they only repeat the clamours of those amongst ourselves; who, on the defeat of your Naturalization project, affected to feel most sensibly for the interests of Liberty and Commerce. And yet I think it no difficulty to convince unprejudiced men, that the Sanctity of Government was, in the first instance, surprised; and that the Legislature did justly as well as politicly in acting conformably to their *second thoughts*.

A People like this of Great Britain, the genius of whose Religion and Government equally concur to make them tender and jealous of the rights of mankind, were naturally led by their first motions to think they might extend those privileges to your Nation, which they saw plainly were the due even of the followers of Mahomet: And yet for all this they were mistaken.

As much a paradox as this may seem, it is easy to shew that in this point, You stand distinguished to your disadvantage from all the Nations upon earth: there being in your case, a peculiar circumstance which must eternally exclude your claim to the general right of Naturalization, in every free Government in Christendom, while men act, not to say with common integrity, but even with common decency, according to their profession.

Let us then consider your case as it is understood by Christian Communities; for men must always act, would they act honestly, according to their own conceptions of the case, not according to the conceptions of other men.

Now it is a common principle of Christianity, that God, in punishing your Nation for the rejection of their

promised Messiah, hath sentenced it to the irremissible infamy of an unsettled vagabond condition, without Country or Civil policy, till *the fulness of the Gentiles be come in:* and then, as we observed before, our St. Paul declares, that your Nation, converted to the faith in Jesus, shall be received again into favour, and intitled to the privilege of Sons. The sentence denounced upon you was not only the loss of your own Community, but the being *debarred an entrance into any other.* For you are condemned to be aliens and strangers in every land where you abide and sojourn. A punishment which can only respect Particulars, and not the Community; for one People can be no other than aliens and strangers to another People, by the constitution of Nature. So that the sentence against you imports, that the Particulars of your race shall not be received by *Naturalization*, to the rights and privileges of the free-born Subjects of those civil States amongst which you shall happen to be dispersed. And we have seen this sentence wonderfully confirmed by the actual infliction of it for the space of seventeen hundred years; which must be confessed to give great credit to the truth of our interpretation of your Prophecies.

But to understand more clearly what share a christian Community ought to take in PREVENTING ANY INSULT on those Prophecies which it holds to be divine, it will be necessary to consider what will be the worldly condition of your Nation when reinstated in God's favour; which both you and we are equally instructed to expect.

If it shall be, as you imagine, a recovery of your Civil-policy, a revival of the Temple-service, and a re-possession of the land of Judea; if this be the mercy promised to your Nation, then indeed the intermediate punishment, between the abolition and the restoration of your divine Policy, can be only the temporary want of it; and consequently the facilitating your entry at present into the several civil Communities of christian men, might well be thought to have no more tendency to insult the general Economy of revealed Religion than the naturalizing of Turks and Tartars.

But the genius of Christianity and the tenor of those Prophecies, as interpreted by Christ and his Apostles, declare

declare such a restoration to the land of Judea and a revival of the Temple-service, to be manifestly absurd, and altogether inconsistent with the nature of the whole of GOD's religious Dispensation: for by this it appears, that the Mosaic Law or Religion (as distinguished from its foundation, natural Religion, on which it was erected) was only PREPARATORY to, and TYPICAL of the Gospel. Consequently, on the establishment of Christianity, the Political part of your institution became abolished; and the Ritual part entirely ceased; just as a scaffold is taken down when a building is erected; or as a shadow is cast behind when the substance is brought forward into day. Nor were you, after this promised conversion, to expect ANY OTHER Civil policy or religious Ritual peculiar to yourselves, or separate from those in use amongst men who profess the name of Christ: because the Gospel, of which you are now supposed to be professors, disclaims all concern with political or civil matters; and because ALL its professors compose but ONE religious Body, under one head, which is Christ.

All therefore that remains for us to conceive of your *civil* condition, when the *fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in*, and Israel be received into grace, is this, That, on your conversion, you shall be NATURALIZED and incorporated, as your convenience or inclination may lead you, into the various civil Communities of the Faithful.

This is the only idea we Christians can entertain of your *future* condition: and this may and must regulate our conduct whenever an alteration of your *present* condition comes in question.

And now to justify the Councils of our Lawgivers in their last and perhaps final determination concerning you.

If the DECLARED punishment of heaven on your Nation, while you continue in unbelief, be DISPERSION through the world, WITHOUT A CIVIL POLICY of your own as a People, and WITHOUT A COUNTRY, as Particulars; and that your restoration to favour, on your embracing the Gospel, is the being received into the Church of Christ, and (as you can be received therein only

only as Particulars, and not as a Nation) the being INCORPORATED into the several civil Communities of Christians; then, any ATTEMPT to incorporate you by *Naturalization* into such civil Communities, before the time predicted and while you adhere to your old Religion as directly opposes the Prophecies, or the declared will of Heaven, as the attempt of Julian to rebuild your Temple, after the sentence of its final destruction had been put in execution: because it aims to procure for you a CIVIL CONDITION while Jews, which it is foretold you shall not enjoy till you are become Christians. Nor is it of any avail to those Politicians who were concerned of late in your favour, to pretend that Julian's attempt was with *malice*, and their's with much integrity of heart; since this difference makes no change in the nature of the action, as it respects God's Dispensations, whatever it may be supposed to do, in the quality of it, as it respects the Actors. In either case, the declared will of Heaven is opposed. When it is done with knowledge of the Prophecy, and with intention to discredit it, the attempt is wicked and impious: when with a forgetfulness of it, with a disregard to Religion, and a neglect of its interests, the attempt (even in this best way of considering it) is indecent and dishonourable. Not that He who thus conceives of things, hath the least apprehension that PROPHECY can be dishonoured, or have its predictions defeated by Civil Power: But this He thinks, that a Christian State while it enacts Laws, though unwarily, whose operation combats the truth of those Predictions, may very easily dishonour itself.

A Nation professing Christianity, though principally busied in the office of protecting liberty and commerce, ceases not to be a nation of Christians, amidst all their cares to discharge the duties of good Citizens. They have the interests and honour of their Religion to support as well as the common-rights of Mankind. For though Civil society be totally and essentially different from the Ecclesiastical, yet as the same Individuals compose the members of both; and as there is the closest Coalition between both, for their mutual support and benefit; such Civil society can never decently or honourably

honourably act with a total disregard to that co-allied Religion, which they profess to believe, and of which, under another consideration, they compose the body.

Perhaps You may tell me, it appears from the manner in which this late affair was conducted, that none of these considerations ever entered into the heads, either of your Friends, or, those you will call, your Enemies, when, at length, they both agreed to leave you as they found you. It may be so: Yet this does not hinder but that the result of a Council, may be justified on principles which never influenced it And as for the credit of Revelation, *that* generally becomes more conspicuous when, through the ignorance and perverseness of foolish men, the predictions of Heaven are supported by Instruments which knew not what they were about. Had they acted with more knowledge of the case, the enemies of Religion would be apt to say, No wonder that the honour of Prophecy is supported, when the Power which could discredit it, held it an impiety to make the attempt.

Thus you see the British Legislature is justified in its last determination concerning you, on all the general principles of piety, honesty, and decency I speak of men, and I speak to men, who *believe* the Religion they profess. As for those profligates, whether amongst yourselves or us, who are ready to profess *any* Religion, but much better disposed to believe *none*, to them, this reasoning is not addressed. Have a fairer opinion therefore of our Charity, and believe us to be sincere when we profess ourselves,

Your, &c.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF

Books IV. V. VI. OF THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES;

1740.

THE Author of *The Divine Legation of Moses*, a private clergyman, had no sooner given his first Volume * to the Public, than he was fallen upon in so outrageous and brutal a manner as had been scarce pardonable had it been *The Divine Legation of Mahomet*. And what was most extraordinary, by those very men whose Cause he was supporting, and whose Honours and Dignities he had been defending. But what grotesque instruments of vengeance had BIGOTRY set on foot! If he was to be run down, it had been some kind of consolation to him to fall by savages, of whom it was no discredit to be devoured.

Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte Leonem.

However, to do them justice, it must be owned, that, what they wanted in teeth, they had in venom; and they knew, as all Brutes do, where their strength lay. For reasons best known to BIGOTRY, he was, in spite of all his professions, to be pushed over to the Enemy, by every kind of provocation. To support this pious purpose, passages were distorted, propositions invented †, conversation betrayed, and forged letters written ‡.

* Books I. II. III.

† See the Author's Letter to Smallbrooke, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in which he accuses the Bishop of this crime; To which accusation, the Public never yet saw either defence or excuse.

‡ By one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction.

The

The attack was opened by one who bore the respectable name of a *Country Clergyman*, but was in reality a Town-Writer of a Weekly Newspaper*; and with such excess of insolence and malice, as the Public had never yet seen on any occasion whatsoever.

Amidst all this unprovoked clamour, the Author had his reasons for sparing these wretched tools of impotence and envy. His friends thought it beneath him to commit himself with such writers; and he himself supposed it no good policy to irritate a crew of Zealots, who had, at their first opening, called loudly upon the secular arm. Our Author indeed could talk big to the FREE-THINKERS; for alas, poor men! he knew their weapons: All their arms were arguments, and those none of the sharpest; and Wit, and that none of the brightest. But he had here to do with men in Authority; appointed, if you will believe them, Inspectors-General over clerical Faith. And they went forth in all the pomp and terror of *Inquisitors*; with *Suspicion* before, *Condemnation* behind, and their two assessors, *Ignorance* and *Insolence*, on each side. *We must suspect his faith* (say they)—*We must condemn his book*—*We do not understand his argument* †.

—But it may perhaps be of use to Posterity at least, if ever these slight sheets should happen to come down to it, to explain the provocation which our Author had given for so much unlimited abuse and calumny. The Reader then may be pleased to know, that the Author's first Volume of *The Divine Legation of Moses* was as well a sequel and support of *The Alliance between Church and State* (a book written in behalf of our Constitution and Established Clergy) as it was an introduction to a projected Defence of *Revelation*. It might likewise be regarded as an intire work of itself, to shew the *usefulness of Religion to Society*. This, and the large bulk of the Volume, disposed him to publish it apart; while the present state of Religion amongst us seemed to give it a peculiar expediency, " an open and " professed disregard to Religion" (as an excellent Pas-

* Dr. Webster by name. Who soon after, by a circular letter to the bench of Bishops, claimed a reward for this exploit.

† Webster, Venn, Stebbing, Waterland, and others.

tor

tor of our Church observes) " being become the dis-
" tinguishing character of the present age. An evil
" grown to a great height in the Metropolis of the Na-
" tion, and daily spreading through every part of it;
" which hath already brought in such dissoluteness and
" contempt of principle in the higher part of the world,
" and such profligate intemperance and fearlessness
" of committing crimes in the lower, as must, if this
" torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal*."
Our Author therefore thought, that as this *evil*, which is now spread through the populace, began in *the higher part of the world*, it must be first checked there, if ever it were checked at all. And he knew no better way to do this, than by shewing those People of Condition (who, amidst all their *contempt of religious Principle*, yet professed the greatest zeal for their country and mankind) *that Religion is absolutely necessary for the support of civil Government*. He thought too, this no ill device to get the advocate of Revelation a fair hearing. For he supposed, that unless they could be made to see the *usefulness* of Christianity to Society (which their *contempt of Principle* shewed they yet did not see) they would never be brought to believe its *Truth*, or *Divinity*.

These were his endeavours and designs. What he got for his pains, I have already told the Reader.—

In vain had he endeavoured to deserve well of *Religion* at large, and of the *Church of England* in particular;—by fixing the true grounds of morality;—by confuting the atheistic arguments of Bayle, and the flagitious Principle of Mandeville;—by explaining the natures, settling the bounds, and adjusting the distinct rights of *the two Societies*;—and by exposing the impious tenet, of Religion's being the contrivance of Politicians.

All this went for nothing with the Bigots. He had departed from the *old posture of defence*, and had projected a new plan for the support of Revelation. *His Demonstration* (says one of them) *if he could make one of it, could never make us amends for changing our posture of defence, and deserting our strong holds*†.

* Bishop of Oxford's Charge, London, 1738, 4to. p. 4.
† Webster's Country Clergyman's second Letter.

For

For though they will *talk*, indeed, of the love of truth, and the invincible evidence of our Faith, yet I know not how, even amidst all their Zeal and Fury, they betray the most woful apprehensions of Christianity, and are frighted to death at every foolish Book new written against Religion, though it come but from the Mint or Bedlam. And what do our directing Engineers advise you to, in this exigence? Do they bid you act offensively, and turn the enemies' artillery upon them? By no means. Keep within your *strong holds*. Watch where they direct their battery, and there to your old mud walls clap a buttress; and so it be done with speed, no matter of what materials. If, in the mean time, one more bold than the rest, offer to dig away the rubbish that hides its beauty, or kick down an aukward prop that discredits its strength, he is sure to be called by these men, perhaps to be thought by those who set them on work, *a secret enemy, or an indiscreet friend* *. He is sure to be assaulted with all the rude clamours and opprobrious names that Bigotry is ever ready to bestow on those it fears and hates.

But this was the fortune of all his betters. It was the fortune of Hooker, Hales, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Bp. Taylor. They were called *Politiques, Sceptics, Erastians, Deists*, and *Atheists*. But CUDWORTH's case was so particular, that it will excuse a little enlargement.

The Philosopher of Malmesbury was the terror of the last age, as Tindal and Collins have been of this. The press sweat with controversy: and every young Churchman militant would needs try his arms in thundering upon Hobbes's steel cap. The mischief his writings had done to Religion set Cudworth upon projecting its defence. Of this he published one immortal volume; with a boldness uncommon indeed, but very becoming a man conscious of his own integrity and strength. For instead of amusing himself with Hobbes's peculiar whimsies, which in a little time were to vanish of themselves, and their answers with them; which are all now forgotten, from the Curate's to the Archbishop's †; he launched out into the immensity of the *Intellectual System*; and, at his first essay, penetrated the very

* Waterland. † Tenison.

darkest

darkest recesses of Antiquity, to strip ATHEISM of its disguises, and drag up the lurking Monster into day. Where, though few readers could follow him, yet the very slowest were able to overtake his purpose. And there wanted not *country Clergymen* to lead the cry, and tell the world,—*That, under pretence of defending Revelation, he wrote in the very manner that an artful Infidel might naturally be supposed to use in writing against it*; that he had given us *all the filthy stuff that he could scrape together out of the sink of Atheism, as a natural introduction to a demonstration of the truth of Revelation:* that with incredible *industry and reading* he had rummaged all antiquity for atheistical arguments, which he neither knew, nor intended to answer. In a word, that he was an *Atheist* in his heart, and an *Arian* in his book *. But the worst is behind. These silly calumnies were believed. The much injured Author grew disgusted. His ardour slackened: and the rest, and far greatest part of the Defence, never appeared. A Defence, that would have left nothing to do for such as our Author, but to read it; and for such as our Author's Adversaries, but to rail at it.

Thus spiritual Hate, like carnal Love, levels all distinctions. And thus our Author came to be honoured with the same treatment which it had bestowed upon a CUDWORTH. But as this hate is for the most part, only envy, under the name of zeal, the Bigots, for their own ease, should be more cautious in conferring their favours. They have given our Author cause enough to be proud: who, as inconsiderable as he is, has, it seems, his ———; as well as a LOCKE his *Edwards*, or a CHILLINGWORTH his *Cheynel*. But alas! the Public, I am afraid, distinguish better. They see, though these men cannot, that the *Edwards's* and *Cheynels* increase upon us, while the LOCKES and CHILLINGWORTHS are become exceeding rare. Turn then, good Creatures! while you have time, turn your envy on their few remaining successors: and leave our Author in peace. He has parts (had he but suitable morals) even to be of

* See Webste.'s Country Clergyman's first Letter against The Divine Legation; and one Mr. John Turner's discourse (a Clergyman likewise) against The Intellectual System.

our

your party. But no time is to be lost. We have a sad prospect before us. The CHILLINGWORTHS of the present age will, in a little time, be no more; while the race of *Cheynels* threatens to be immortal. But this is the fate of human things. The *Geese* of the *Capitol*, we know, remained for ages, after those true defenders of it, the MANLII, the CAMILLI, the AFRICANI, were extinct and forgotten.

And alas! how ominous are the fears of friendship! I had but just written this, when the death of Dr. FRANCIS HARE, late bishop of *Chichester*, gave me cause to lament my Divination. In him the Public has lost one of the best patrons and supports of letters and religion. How steadily and successfully he employed his great talents of reason and literature, in opposing the violence of each religious party in their turns, when court-favour was betraying them into hurtful extremes, the unjust reproaches of Libertines and Bigots will never suffer us to forget. How generously he encouraged and rewarded Letters, let them tell who have largely shared in his beneficence: for his character may be trusted with his enemies, or even with his most obliged friends. In him our Author has lost, what he could but ill spare, one of the most candid of his Readers and ablest of his Critics. What he can never lose, is the honour of his esteem and friendship.

But whatever advantage our Author may have received from the outrage of his enemies, the Public is a real sufferer. He had indeed the honour to be known to those few, who could have corrected his errors, reformed his course, and shewn him safely through the wide and trackless waste of ancient times. But the calumnies of the Bigots obliged him to a kind of quarantain, as coming lately from suspected places, from the cabinet-council of *Old Lawgivers*, and the schools of *Heathen Philosophers*; whose infection was supposed to be yet sticking on him. And under such circumstances it is held ill-breeding to come near our Superiors.

This disadvantage was the more sensible to him, as few writers have been under greater obligations to consult the satisfaction of capable readers; who gave his first Volume so kind a reception; and waited with a

favourable expectation for the following. And if he has made these readers wait too long, he has only this to say, that he would not follow the example of paradoxical writers, who only aim to strike by a novelty. For as his point was truth, he was content his notions should become stale and common, and forego all advantages but their native evidence, before he submitted the prosecution of them to the judgment of the Public.

PREFACE

TO THE EDITION

OF

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES;

1758.

THE subject of these Volumes had occasionally led me to say many things of the genius and constitution of PAGAN Religion, in order to illustrate the divinity of the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN; Amongst the rest, I attempted to explain the true origin of that opprobrium of our common nature, PERSECUTION FOR OPINIONS*: And I flattered myself, I had done REVELATION good service, in shewing that this evil owed its birth to the *absurdities of Pagan Religion*, and to the *iniquities of Pagan Politics:* for that the persecutions of the later Jews, and afterwards, of the first Christians, arose from the reasonable constitution of these two Religions, which, by avoiding idolatry, opposed that universal principle of paganism, INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; or, in other words, That the Jews and Christians were persecuted as *the enemies of mankind*, for not having Gods in common with the rest of the World.

But a learned Critic and Divine hath lately undertaken to expose my mistake; He hath endeavoured to prove, that the *first persecution for opinion* was of Christian original; and that the Pagans persecuted the primitive Church, not, as I had represented the matter, for the unsociable genius of its Religion, which forbad all intercourse with idolaters, but for its NOCTURNAL and CLANDESTINE ASSEMBLIES. From whence it follows, as will be seen by and by, that the first Christians were fanatics, libertines, or impostors; and that the persecuting Emperors, provident for the public safety, legally pursued a bigotted or immoral, sect, for a CRIME OF STATE, and not for *matter of opinion.*

* See Div. Leg. Vol. II. b. ii. sect. 6.

If it be asked, How a Doctor of Laws, a Minister of the Gospel, and a Judge ecclesiastical, would venture to amuse us with so strange a fancy; all I can say for it is, he had the pleasure, in common with many other witty men, of writing against *The Divine Legation*; and he had the pleasure too, in common with many wise men, of thinking he might indulge himself in any liberties against a writer whom he had the precaution not to name.—But he says, he never read the D. L. I can easily believe him: And will do him this further justice, that, when many have written against it without reading it, he is the first who has had the ingenuity to own it.

His system or hypothesis, as we find it in a late quarto volume, called *Elements of the Civil Law* *, is, in substance, this,—" That the same principle, which " set the Roman Senate upon prosecuting the abomi- " nable RITES OF BACCHUS, excited the Roman Em- " perors to persecute the PRIMITIVE CHURCH."

But it is fit, this marvellous discovery should be revealed in his own words—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence and toleration, which the ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all religions whatsoever, why the christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution* †.—If the learned Critic be serious in asking a question, which had been answered, and as would seem, to the general satisfaction, near twenty years ago, I suppose it is, to intimate that no other answer will content him but one from the Persecutors themselves. This then he shall have; though it be of sixteen hundred years standing.

PLINY the younger, when proconsul of Bithynia, acquaints his master with the reasons why HE persecuted; and the satisfaction he had in so doing:—" Ne- " que dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, " certe PERTINACIAM, ET INFLEXIBILEM OBSTINA- " TIONEM debere puniri ‡." What was this *froward and inflexible obstinacy?* He tells us, it was refusing

* By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Chancellor of Lincoln.

† Page 579. ‡ Lib. x. Ep. 97.

all

all *intercommunity* with paganism; it was refusing to throw a single grain of incense on their altars.

TACITUS, speaking of the persecution which followed the burning of Rome by Nero (the impiety of which action that mad tyrant had charged upon the Christians) says, "Haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam ODIO "HUMANI GENERIS convicti sunt*." By which, I understand him to mean,—That though the emperor falsely charged them with the burning of Rome, yet the people acquiesced in the persecution, on account of the enormous crime of which they were convicted, [*i. e.* judged guilty in the opinion of all men;] their *hatred to the whole race of mankind*†; for nothing but such an unnatural aversion, they thought, could induce men to persevere in rejecting so universal a principle, as *intercommunity of worship.*

The good emperor AURELIUS was himself a persecutor. It is not to be doubted, when he speaks in condemnation of the Christian sect, but that he would tell the worst he conceived of them: and it must cer-

* Ann. l. xv. c. 44.

† Tacitus, speaking of the Jews, observes that the end of their peculiar Rites was to separate them from all other people. From their *separation* he inferred their *aversion*. In this sense we are to understand him and other Pagan writers, when they exclaim against the Jews for their *peculiar Rites*. Each Nation had its own: so that, *peculiarity* was a circumstance common to all. What differenced the Jewish Rites from all others was their *end*; which was to keep the People from all intercommunity with the several religions of Paganism; each of which, how different soever in their Rites, held fellowship with one another.—But here a famous French Critic, who writes de omni scibili, comes in support of our English Critic's system of the PSEUDO-MARTYRS of the primitive Church, and says, we all mistake Tacitus's Latin. His words are these—"J'oserais dire que ces mots *odio humani generis convicti* peuvent bien signifier, dans le stile de Tacite, *convaincus d'être hais du genre-humain*, autant que *convaincus de hair le genre-humain.*" [Traité sur la Tolerance, 1763, p. 60.] He tells us, *He dare say*,—what not one of

"Westminster's bold race

dare say,—*that these words, odio humani generis convicti, may well signify, in the style of Tacitus, convicted of being hated by the human race, as well as convicted of hating the human race.*" And now Tacitus, so long famed for his political sagacity, will be made to pronounce this galimatias from his oracular Tripod, "*The Jews were not* "*convicted so properly for the* CRIME *of setting fire to Rome, as for* "*the* CRIME OF BEING HATED *by all mankind.*"

tainly have been that worst, which made him a Persecutor, so much against the mildness of his nature and the equity of his philosophic manners. Now this sage magistrate, in his book of *Meditations*, speaking of the wise man's readiness to give up life, expresses himself in this manner,—" He should be so prepared that his " readiness may be seen to be the issue of a well-" weighed judgment, not the effect of MERE OBSTI-" NACY, like that of the Christians *." For *intercommunity* being in the number of first principles, to deny these, could be owing to nothing but to *mere obstinacy*, or downright stupidity. Here, the mistaken duty of the magistrate, overcame the lenity of the man, and the justice of the philosopher: at other times, his speculations happily got the better of his practice. In his *constitution to the community of Asia*, recorded by Eusebius, he says,—" I know the Gods are watchful to " discover such sort of men. And it is much fitter that " they themselves should punish those who REFUSE TO " WORSHIP THEM, than that we should interfere in " their quarrel †." The emperor, at length, speaks out: and what we could only infer from Pliny, from Tacitus, and from the passage in the Meditations, he now declares in so many words; viz. that THE CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR REFUSING TO WORSHIP THE GODS OF THE GENTILES.

Lastly, the imperial Sophist, who, of all the idolaters, was most learned in this *mystery of iniquity*, as having employed all his politics and his pedantry to varnish over the deformities of persecution, frankly owns, that " the Jews and Christians brought the execration of the world upon them, by their AVERSION TO THE GODS OF THE GENTILES ‡."

* —Τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ καλὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ χριστιανοί. L. xi. § 3.

† Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ', ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελὲς ἐστι, μὴ λανθάνειν τὺς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τὺς μὴ βελομένους αὐτὺς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ἡμεῖς. Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 13.

‡ Ἀλλὰ τὸ, Οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις. ὁ δὴ μέγα τῆς περὶ τὸν θεὸν φησι διαβολῆς· Θεὸς γὰρ ζηλωτὴς φησι—Ἀφεῖτε τοῦτον τὸν λῆρον, καὶ μὴ τηλικαύτην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτὺς ἕλκετε βλασφημίαν. JULIAN apud Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. v.

We

We have seen, from the MAGISTRATE's own testimony, what it was for which he persecuted. We shall now see, from the PEOPLE's demand, that they required the exertion of his power, on no other account. It was usual in their sanguinary shows, when criminals and offending slaves were exposed to the beasts, to call out for and demand execution on the Christians, by the formula of AIPE ΤΟΥΣ ΑΘΕΟΥΣ. This was their early language, when they required Polycarp for the slaughter. The name ATHEIST was only one of their more odious terms, for a rejector of their Gods. And it was but too natural, when they wanted to have their rage and cruelty thus gratified, to use expressions, which, at the same time that the terms were most calumniating, implied the very crime for which the magistrate was wont to persecute.

What says our learned Civilian to this evidence? He allows Antiquity to have proved the *Fact*, that the pagan emperors did persecute. But for what, is a question (says he) that *may still be asked.* And the true answer, with your leave, he thinks himself better able to give than the Persecutors themselves. *My reader* (these are his words) *will grant the fact; and* I COME NOW TO ACCOUNT FOR IT. The *account*, we find, had been settled long ago. What of that? It had never passed through his philologic Office; and therefore lay still open till our master-critic was at leisure to examine it.

It is not true (says this redresser of wrongs) *that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power. But the converse of that proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestations from that quarter, because their assemblies were nocturnal**.

He says, *it is not true:* The Christian Church says, *it is.* Who shall decide? A bundle of Grammarians; or the college of Apostles? I know *his* mind: and I guess at my reader's: And of the two, being at present more disposed to gratify the latter, I shall, for once, venture to bring our Civilian before a foreign Judicatory, that is to say, HOLY SCRIPTURE.

* Elements of the Civil Law, p. 579.

From Scripture we learn, that the first Christian assembly, held in the *night-time*, was the very night after the RESURRECTION; when the disciples met in a *clandestine* manner, with the doors made fast upon them: and this, we are assured, was to *avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; or, in the plainer words of St. John, FOR FEAR OF THE JEWS*: for the Soldiers' story of the resurrection began now to make a noise; and the Jewish rulers were much startled and enraged at it. But when the fright of the disciples was a little over, and things had subsided into a calm, the next assembly, we hear of, was *in the day-time*; without any marks of the former wary circumspection†. These open meetings were repeated as often as the returns of public worship required: sometimes shifting from house to house; sometimes more stationary in the Temple‡.

But when now the MIRACLES, worked by the apostles in confirmation of the soldiers' story, had alarmed the rulers afresh; and Peter and John, whom they had put into prison, were, on their releasement, enjoined silence, the Church, assembled in this exigence to implore the Divine direction touching the extent of their obedience to the civil power, was answered by sensible signs from heaven, as at the day of Pentecost—*And when they had prayed* (says the historian) *the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God* WITH BOLDNESS§.

Here we see, that this second persecution had a different effect upon the Church from the former. At first, they assembled in a clandestine manner *for fear of the* JEWS; now, they continued *openly* in the Temple *to speak the word of God with boldness*. This conduct seemed good to the Holy Ghost: and the reason is not difficult to comprehend. The Church was now, for the first time, solemnly enjoined silence by Authority. It was fit it should be as solemnly decided, Who was to be obeyed; GOD, or the civil Magistrate. But this was not all; the decision served another very great purpose; it served, to disseminate the Faith: for the natural consequence of the disciples' persisting to discharge their

* John xx. 19. † Acts i. 14.—ii. 1. ‡ Ib. ii. 46. § Ib. iv. 31.

ministry,

ministry, after they had been formally forbidden, was their being *scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria* *. Had the Church taken its usual remedy against civil violence, namely, *secret assemblies* (which, in ordinary cases, modesty and a sober regard to authority prescribe), the faithful had not been dispersed; and the purpose of Divine Providence, in the speedy propagation of the Gospel, had not been properly effected.

This being the case, in the interval between the dispersion, and St. Paul's miraculous conversion, we hear of no *nocturnal assemblies*; unless you reckon in the number that between the Disciples and their illustrious Convert, on the town-wall of Damascus, when they let him down in a basket, to escape his persecutors †. In this condition, things remained till Paul's return to Jerusalem: and then, says my text, *the Churches had rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria* ‡.

From this time, till Herod's persecution §, we have not one word of any *nocturnal assembly* of the Faithful: but no sooner did that persecution commence, than those meetings were again re-assumed. The Church assembled at midnight, to pray for Peter's deliverance out of prison: and he, when he was delivered by their prayers, found more difficulty to get to his secreted friends than to escape from his gaolers ‖.

In a word, from this history of the first propagation of the Faith, we learn, that, in times of persecution, the Church assembled by stealth, and in the night: but whenever they had a breathing-time, and were at liberty to worship God according to their conscience, they always met together openly, and in the face of day. Thus when Paul came first to Rome (where this sect shared in the general toleration of foreign worship, till the magistrate understood that it condemned the great principle of *intercommunity*) we learn, that he freely discharged the office of his ministry *from morning to night* ¶. And the sacred writer, as if on purpose to insinuate, that, when the Church had rest from persecution, it never crept into holes and corners, ends his narrative in this manner;—*And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own*

* Acts viii. 1. † Ibid. ix. 25. ‡ Ver. 31.
§ Ib. xii. 1. ‖ Ib. xii. 13. ¶ Ib. xxviii. 23.

hired

hired house, and RECEIVED ALL *that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence,* NO MAN FORBIDDING HIM *.

It may be objected, perhaps, "that the question is, of the *persecuting Pagans*; and all that has been here said, concerns the *persecuting Jews* only." It does so: But who can help it? The Jews happened to persecute, first. As to the *question*, that which is essential in it is only this, Whether the primitive Christians held their clandestine assemblies to avoid persecution; or, whether they were persecuted for holding clandestine assemblies? —Who persecuted, whether Jews or Pagans, is merely incidental to the question, and wholly indifferent to the decision of it. But it may still be said, "That the Christians having thus gotten the habit of clandestine assemblies in Judea; by that time Churches became formed in the midst of Paganism, they continued the same mode of worship, though the occasion of its introduction was now over; so that the learned Doctor's position may yet be true, That the Pagans persecuted for those clandestine meetings, which had been first begun in Judea, to avoid persecution, and were now continued in contempt of authority." To this I answer, that the *fact*, on the Doctor's *own* principles, is impossible. According to his principles, clandestine meetings must be prosecuted as soon as observed; and they are of a nature to be observed as soon as practised. Now all Antiquity, both profane and sacred, assures us, that the Christian Church was not persecuted on its first appearance amongst the Pagans: who were not easily brought, even when excited by the Jews, to second their malice, or to support their impotence.

But the *fact* is, in the highest degree, improbable on *any* principles. Had our learned Critic consulted what Philosophers, and not what Philologists, call HUMANITY, that is, the workings of our common nature, he had never fallen into so absurd a conceit, as that the inspired propagators of a Revelation from heaven should, without any reasonable cause, and only in imitation of pagan worship, affect clandestine and nocturnal meetings. For

* Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

he

he might have seen, that so strange a conduct had not only been in contempt of their divine Master's example, who, at his arraignment before the high priest, said, *I spake* OPENLY *to the world*; *and* IN SECRET *have I said nothing* * ; but likewise in defiance of his injunction, when he sent them to propagate the faith,—*What I tell you* IN DARKNESS, *that shall you speak* IN THE LIGHT: *and what ye hear* IN THE EAR, *that preach ye* UPON THE HOUSE-TOPS †. Had our Critic (I say) paid that attention to human nature and to the course of the moral world, which he has misapplied upon an old mouldy brass, and a set of strolling Bacchanals ‡, he might have understood, that the first Christians, under the habitual guidance of the Holy Spirit, could never have recourse to nocturnal or clandestine conventicles, till driven to them by the violence of persecution: he might have understood, that the free choice of such assemblies must needs be an after-practice, when churchmen had debased the truth and purity of Religion by human inventions and sordid superstitions; when, an emulous affectation of MYSTERY, and a mistaken zeal for the tombs of the MARTYRS, had made a Hierarchy of that, which at first was only a Gospel-ministry.

On the whole therefore, we need not, I think, ask leave of this learned man to continue in our opinion, *that the primitive Christians held their assemblies in the night-time to avoid the interruptions of the civil power*; and to esteem his CONVERSE *proposition*, as he affects to call it *(of their meeting with molestation from that quarter*, BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal)* as a mere dream or vision.

But to hide nothing which may concern a matter of such importance as our Critic's *Discoveries*; I will ingenuously confess, how much soever it may make against me, that there are instances in sacred story of meetings at midnight and before dawn of day, to which *no interruption of the civil Power* had driven the disciples of

* John xviii. 20. † Matt. x. 27.

‡ All these refined speculations concerning persecution, are at the end of the said book of Elements; in a dissertation on a curious ancient tablet, containing the senatorial decree against a crew of wicked Bacchanals, of the size and dignity of our modern Gypsies.

Christ; but which were evidently done in contempt and defiance of that Power: such, for example, was the clandestine meeting between Mary and the two Angels at the sepulchre *: that between the Apostles and the Angel of the Lord in the common prison †: and that, again, between Peter and the same Angel ‡: not to speak of another famous *midnight assembly* between Paul, Silas, the Gaoler, and an Earthquake §.

We come now to the learned person's second proposition, called by way of eminence, the CONVERSE; which affirms, *That the primitive Christians met with molestations from the civil power, because their assemblies were nocturnal.* And this he assures us *is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE; which in his language, I suppose, signifies, *true in the* EXACTEST SENSE; for his argument requires some such meaning. Now in common English—*true in the utmost latitude*, signifies *true, in the* LOWEST SENSE; for the *greater latitude* you give to any thing, the *looser* you make it. This most eloquent editor of Demosthenes, therefore, by *utmost latitude* may be allowed to mean, what makes most to his purpose; though it be what an Englishman would least suspect,—*utmost strictness.* And now for his reasoning. —By the *molestations the Christians met with*, we must needs understand the FIRST molestations; all other being nothing to the purpose: for when persecution was once on foot, I make no doubt but the *nocturnal assemblies*, to which persecution had driven them, gave fresh umbrage to the Civil power; it being of the nature of a persecuting spirit to take offence at the very endeavours to evade its tyranny. The question between the learned Civilian and me, is, What gave birth to the *first*, and continued to be the *general*, cause of persecution? He says it arose from *nocturnal and clandestine assemblies*: I suppose it to be occasioned by the *Atheistic* renunciation of the Gods of Paganism.

Now it seems to be a violent prejudice against the learned Critic's system, that no one of those persecutors ever assigned *nocturnal assemblies* as the *first* or *general* cause of persecution; and equally favourable for my

* John xx. 11, 12. † Acts v. 18, 19.
‡ Acts xii. 7, 8. § Ib. xvi. 25.

opinion,

opinion, that they all concur in giving another cause; namely, the unhospitable temper of the Christians, in refusing to have Gods in common with the rest of mankind.

PLINY, in doubt how to act with the Christians of his district, writes to his master for instructions. His embarras, he tells the emperor, was occasioned by his never having been present at their examinations; which made him incapable of judging *what*, or *how* he was to prosecute. Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio *quid* et *quatenus* aut puniri soleat aut quæri." He wanted to know, whether the very NAME was not criminal; either for itself, or for some mischief hid under it——"Nomen ipsum etiam si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini puniantur." But could a Roman Magistrate, when at a loss for a pretence to persecute, overlook so fair a one as *voluntary, unforced clandestine assemblies*, and hunt after a mormo hid in the combination of four syllables? Not that he wanted a Precedent for proceeding on these visionary grounds; but the very Precedent shews that the Persecutors wanted better. TERTULLIAN assures us, that the Christians had been actually persecuted for the NAME *only*: "Non sceleris aliquod in causâ, sed NOMEN; Christianus, si nullius criminis reus, *nomen* valde infestum, si *solius nominis* crimen est—si nominis odium est, quis nominum reatus: quæ accusatio vocabulorum? nisi si aut barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infaustum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum," &c. From whence, by the way, allow me to conclude, that when a harmless NAME becomes so odious as to occasion the Sect, which bears it, to be persecuted, the aversion must arise from some *essential* principle of that Sect, and not from a *casual* circumstance attending their religious practice.—But to return to Pliny; at last he discovers something worthy of animadversion. It was their FROWARD AND INFLEXIBLE OBSTINACY:—"neque dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod fatercntur, pervicaciam certe et *inflexibilem obstinationem* debere puniri." Now is it possible, if the Christians were first persecuted, and continued to be persecuted, for holding their assemblies in the night-time, that Pliny, after

after so much experience of it, should not know the crime, nor how to proceed against the offenders? What is still more unaccountable, TRAJAN, in answer to this application, is unable to deliver any general rule for the direction of his Minister—"Neque enim in universum "aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui "potest." But the assembling in a *clandestine manner by night*, if this was the Crime which gave offence, is an action that admits of few modifications in a Court of Justice; and so might be commodiously submitted to a general rule. On the other hand, if what the author of *The Divine Legation* says, be true, that they were persecuted for opposing the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, we see plainly why no general rule could be delivered. They expressed this opposition in various ways and manners; some more, some less, offensive:—by simply refusing to worship with the Pagans, when called upon; by running to their tribunals uncalled; by making a profession of their faith, unasked; or by affronting the national religion, unprovoked. Now, so just and clement a prince as Trajan might well think, these different modes of expressing their abhorrence of intercommunity deserved different degrees of animadversion.

When Nero, in a mad frolic, set Rome on fire, and then threw that atrocious act upon the Christians, it is highly probable that the *nocturnal assemblies* of the Faithful (which, by this time, persecution had introduced amongst them) first started the happy thought, and encouraged him to pursue it. Now, if this, which is very probable, and our Critic's hypothesis, which is very improbable, be both true, I cannot see how it was possible for TACITUS, when he acquits them of this calumny, and at the same time expresses the utmost virulence against them, to omit the mention of their nocturnal assemblies, had they been begun without necessity, and obstinately continued after the civil magistrate had forbidden them. Instead of this, all he had to object to the Christians, was their *odium humani generis:* of which, indeed, he says, they were convicted; *convicti sunt:* an expression, without either propriety or truth, unless we suppose it understood their refusal of *intercommunity* to be a conviction: other proof there was none:

for

for when examined on the rack concerning this *hatred of mankind* *, they constantly denied the charge; and appealed as well to their principles as their practice; both of which declared their universal love and benevolence to all the creatures of God. But to reprobate the Gods of Rome, the *Orbis Romanus*, (of which our Critic can tell us wonders) was proclaiming *hatred and aversion to all the world.* Hence it is that Quintilian, speaking of the topics of dispraise, says that *the Author of the Jewish Religion*, (equally reprobating, with the Author of the Christian, the universal principle of *intercommunity*) *was deservedly hated and held ignominious as the founder of a superstition which was the* BANE *of all other Religions*—Et parentes malorum odimus: Et est conditoribus urbium infamiæ, contraxisse aliquam PERNICIOSAM cæteris gentem, qualis est primus Judaicæ superstitionis Auctor. But why *pernicious and baleful to the rest*, if not by accusing and condemning all other Institutions of error and imposture?

MARCUS AURELIUS and JULIAN were vigilant and active; well instructed in the rights of Society; and not a little jealous of the interests of the Magistrate. Yet neither of these princes ever accuse the Christians of running to nocturnal assemblies unprovoked, or of persisting in the practice against imperial edicts. What a field was here for Aurelius, who despised them, to urge his charge of *brutal obstinacy*; and for Julian, who feared them, to cry aloud of *danger to the state*; their two favourite topics against these enemies of their Religion and Philosophy!

But sacred story may help us out where the civil fails: let us see then how this matter stands represented in Scripture: for I make our Critic's cause my own, as supposing we are both in the pursuit of Truth.

I have already given a brief account of the Assemblies of the infant-church, as they are occasionally mentioned in the history of the *Acts of the Apostles.*

Our Critic's *converse* proposition, which we are now upon, only requires us to shew in what light the persecutors of the Apostles considered this matter; and

* *i. e.* Concerning their principles and their practice, from whence the Pagans inferred their *hatred of mankind.*

whether

whether *nocturnal assemblies*, when any such were held, either gave advantage to their Jewish accusers, or umbrage to the pagan Magistrate, before whom the propagators of the Gospel were convened.

The persecutions recorded in the history of the *Acts* were almost all of them raised, or at least, fomented, by the Jews. Their several accusations against those they called apostate brethren are minutely recorded: and yet the crime of *assembling by night* is never brought into account. In the mean time, their point was to make the unwilling Magistrate the instrument of their malice: for this reason, they omitted nothing which might tend to alarm the jealousy of the State; as when they accused the Christians of setting up another king, against Cæsar. Had their nocturnal assemblies therefore been held out of *choice*, they would not have neglected this advantage, since nothing could more alarm the civil Magistrate than such assemblies. The truth is, the Jews could not be ignorant of the advantage this would afford them. But conscience and humanity are not to be overcome at once. To accuse those they hated, of what they themselves had occasioned, required a hardiness in vice which comes only by degrees; and after a long habit of abusing civil justice and the common rights of mankind.

Our Critic, perhaps, may be ready to say, "That it is probable the Jews did accuse the Christian Church of this misdemeanor, though the historian, in his succinct history of the *Acts*, hath omitted to record it."

But this subterfuge will never pass with those who consider how unwilling the Roman Magistrate always was to interfere in their contests, as clearly apprehending, the subject of them to be of *certain matters concerning their law:* so that, under this disposition, nothing could be more effectual to quicken his jealousy and resentment, than the charge of *clandestine assemblies*; of which, doubtless, the Romans were very jealous, as contrary to their fundamental Laws, though not so extravagantly umbragious as our Critic's hypothesis obliges him to suppose.

But it will be said, "Were *clandestine meetings* never objected to the primitive Christians?" Yes, very often. CELSUS objected such *meetings* to them, as things contrary

contrary to law *. But ORIGEN's reply will set matters right. He says, the Church was driven upon this obnoxious measure to avoid the unjust persecution of its enemies †: Nay Celsus, in a more ingenuous humour, confesses, they had reason for what they did; there being no other way to escape the severest punishments ‡. At least then, I have the honour of finding this reverend Epicurean on my side, against our Civilian and his *converse proposition*.

These meetings, therefore, it is confessed, subjected the Church to much censure; but that was all. Tertullian, vindicating the Christians on this head, says—"Hæc coitio christianorum merito sane illicita, si illi-"citis par; merito damnanda, si quis de ea queritur eo "titulo quod de factionibus querela est §." The passage is remarkable; and shews, not only that the Christians were never brought into condemnation for nocturnal meetings; but, why they were not; namely, because nothing bad or even suspicious could be proved against them. The *law of the twelve tables* says, "Si qui in "urbe cœtus nocturnos agitassit, capital esto;" meaning, if celebrated without the licence of the magistrate ‖. The Christians applied for this licence: it was denied them. They assembled: and such assemblies are only liable to animadversion, if any thing criminal or immoral be committed in them. Crimes were indeed pretended; but on enquiry, as we find by Pliny, they could not be

* ὅσαι καλὰ νόμως γίγνεσθαι. Orig. cont. Cels.

† ἀπὸ τῦ κοινῦ κινδύνυ.

‡ ὐ μάτην τῦτο ποιῦσιν, ἅτι διωθύμενοι τὴν ἐπηρεμίαν αὐτοῖς δίκην τῦ θανάτυ.

§ Apol. cap. xxxviii.

‖ This appears to be the true sense of the *Law*, from a passage in Cicero's dialogue *De Legibus*. Atticus thought him too severe upon *nocturnal assemblies:* he vindicates himself by observing, that; even in the midst of Greece, Diagondas, the Theban, totally abolished them.—Ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia, Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. From hence I infer these two things; That, were not the *Law of the twelve tables* to be understood in the sense here given to it, Cicero needed not have gone so far as Thebes for his justification: and secondly, that his laying so much stress upon the abolition's being made in the midst of Greece, shews how strongly, in his opinion, that country was attached to *nocturnal assemblies.*

proved. This I take to be the true explanation of Tertullian's argument: by which we understand that the Christians were not *persecuted*, but only *calumniated*, for their nocturnal assemblies.

Maximus, a pagan Philosopher of Madaura, desires to know of AUSTIN why the Christians so much affected *mystery*. To which the answer is, "That, without "doubt, this idolater did not mean, the meetings in "caverns and sepulchres, in which the faithful were "wont to assemble during the heat of persecution—but "their mysteries of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*." St. Austin supposes Maximus did not intend to object to their clandestine meetings: however, if he did, he is ready to justify them on the plea of necessity, and to avoid persecution. Another sad discredit to the *converse proposition*.

But since our Civil Judge is so eager to have the primitive Christians found guilty of *a crime of state*, at his tribunal; I will, out of tenderness to his credit, and deference to his authority, consent to give them up; and airly confess, they were not only accused, but even punished for high treason, the *crimen læsæ majestatis*. The process was thus carried on. Christians refused to worship the Gods of Rome. Sacrificing for the safety of the empire, and for the life of the emperor, made part of that worship. If the Christians could not worship, they could not sacrifice: But this sacrifice was esteemed a necessary part of civil obedience. The omission of it, therefore, was a crime of state, and amounted to high treason. Tertullian sums up the charge, and pleads guilty to it. "Deos inquitis (says "he, repeating the pagan accusation) non colitis, et "pro imperatoribus sacrificia non impenditis:—sacrile-"gii & majestatis rei convenimur. SUMMA HÆC CAU-"SA, IMO TOTA EST." Here again we see, Antiquity gives the exclusion to the *converse proposition*: for if this was the only cause of persecution, certainly nocturnal assemblies was not one. I could wish therefore, by this *crime of state*, to save the learned Doctor's credit and authority. But I am afraid, on examination, it will prove no more than their refusal to *communicate* in

* Ep. xliv.

pagan

pagan worship. Tertullian himself, in the passage quoted above, makes it amount to no more. However, it was esteemed to be the *crimen læsæ majestatis*: and this we are not to wonder at; for one of the greatest ornaments of Paganism, long before the moving this question, had declared, that even the *exclusive* worship of one God came pretty near the matter. MAJESTATEM IMPERII NON DECUISSE UT UNUS TANTUM DEUS COLATUR, says Cicero, in his oration for Flaccus.

You see then, at length, to what our Critic's discovery amounts. No marvel he triumphs in it. "And now "(says he) can any one doubt that the considerations I "have mentioned, were those which GAVE AN EDGE to "the Roman persecutions? The professors of Chris-"tianity had NO REASON to be apprehensive of any "severities upon the score of religion, any more than "the professors of ANY OTHER RELIGION besides. "*Antiquity, in its public capacity*, was generally very "indulgent to all who dissented from the established "worship: persecution for DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF "ALONE owes its nativity to more modern ages, and "Spain was its country; where Priscillian, by some, is "held to be the first sufferer for mere opinion."—pp. 579, 580.

——*And now can any one doubt that the considerations I have mentioned were those which* GAVE AN EDGE *to the Roman persecutions?*—For a trusty Guide, allow me to recommend him to the reader; whom he is ready to mislead, the very first step he makes. The question is, and so he himself has stated it, *what* OCCASIONED *the Roman persecutions?* Here, he changes it to—*What* GAVE AN EDGE *to them?*—*Nocturnal assemblies* might *give an edge* to the persecutions, and yet all be true that his Adversary affirms, and the persecutions be *occasioned* by a very different thing.—But our Critic is so highly figurative, and often so sublime, as to transcend the common liberties of speech. Thus he speaks of *Antiquity in its public capacity*, meaning, I suppose, the civil states of Greece and Rome; though in the mode of ordinary language it would be no inelegant periphrasis for the NEW INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES: again he talks of the *nativity of persecution*, and of its

being a native of Spain; and yet he seems not to mean, as you would fancy, its *birth*, but its *education*. For he tells us (p. 583) it was *born* long before, in Egypt; where it occasioned, what he calls, their *holy wars*; which, by his own account, were *persecutions for difference of belief alone*. However, as this Egyptian intrigue was but a *miscarriage*, and a kind of coming before its time, he forces it to enter again into the womb of Fate, and to be born, we see, a second time for the honour of Christianity. Since, then, our Critic's figures are so new, and of so transcendent a kind, why may we not suppose that, the *giving an edge to persecution*, may signify the *giving a sword* to it, and then all will be right.

—*The professors of Christianity* (says he) *had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion.*—The more fools they; when their Master had pointed out so many. If they *had no reason*, it must be because *no reason* would make an impression. For they were frequently reminded by him, of what they were to suffer, not indeed for assembling in the night-time, but *for his* NAME'S SAKE, *and because of the* WORD*. St. Paul too had expressly assured the churches, that *all who live godly in Jesus Christ shall suffer persecution*†. But where was the wonder, that they, who paid so little attention to their Master, should pay still less to their Fellow-servant?

—Hear me out, however, cries our learned Critic: I affirm that *the professors of Christianity had no reason to be apprehensive of any severities upon the score of Religion,* ANY MORE *than the professors of any other sect or religion besides.* On my word, he has mended matters greatly! What, had the *professors of other sects or religions* any PROPHECIES OR REVELATIONS *of severities upon the score of religion?*

But, from this essential difference in the *external* circumstances of these two sets of *Professors*, the Pagan and the Christian, we will turn to the *internal*: And, under this head, let me ask another question. The *Professors* of the faith held it to be unlawful, and a deadly sin, to have *communion or fellowship* with the Gods of the Heathen. But had the *Professors* of Idolatry any of

* Matt. xxiv. 9. & xiii. 21. † 2 Tim. iii. 12.

these

these scruples, or did they hold any thing analogous to them? On the contrary, did not the *Professors* of Gaul, of Greece, of Asia, and of Egypt, join heartily with the Professors of Rome, to pay all due honours to the established religion? while those masters of the world as heartily joined communion with these strangers: nay, were ready to do the same honours to the Gospel, had they found the same disposition towards mutual civilities among its followers.

"And was this so trifling a difference as to deserve no notice either of the Critic or the Civilian? Had the Christians, who damned Paganism in the lump, and reprobated the established religion of Rome, as the work of evil demons and evil men, *no more reason to be apprehensive of any severities from this antiquity in its public capacity, than the professors of any other religion besides*, all of which not only acknowledged the Gods of Rome, but, to make good weight, added Rome itself to the number of her Divinities? This *public capacitated antiquity* must have been of an odd paste, and strangely composed, to use those, who attempted the destruction of its Gods, in the same gentle way it treated those who revered and honoured them.

But, as this *public capacitated antiquity* is, after all, no more than a fantom, and *owes its nativity* to our Critic's brain, it is no wonder, it should have something of the perversity of its parent; who, searching for the CAUSE of Persecution, could not find it in a circumstance in which idolatry and Christianity *differed*, namely, *exclusive worship*, a principle most abhorred by paganism; and yet can see it in a circumstance where both agreed, namely, *nocturnal worship*, a practice most venerated by paganism.

But *antiquity* (says he) *in its public capacity was generally very indulgent to all who dissented from the established worship*. This, he had many ways of learning: but the *cause* of the indulgence, if it be yet unknown to him, he will owe to the author of *The Divine Legation*, who hath shewn that it was entirely owing to the *absurdity* of its religious systems, just as the want of this indulgence, under Christianity, was occasioned by the *reasonableness* of its system, unreasonably indeed in-

forced upon the mistaken principles of Judaism. So that the indulgence of Paganism had continued to this day, had not Christianity come boisterously in, and broken the peace. Then arose an exception, unfavourable to the new Comer: For why was the established religion so indulgent to every strange sect, but because every stange sect was as indulgent to the established? So that, in this commerce of mutual civilities, while the national worship enjoyed the civil rights of an Establishment, it was content, the Stranger should still possess the natural rights of a Toleration. But all this good harmony, the Christian faith disturbed and violated. It condemned paganism in the gross, whether *established* or *tolerated*: and, under pain of damnation, required all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, to forsake their ancient absurdities, and profess their faith in a crucified Saviour. A circumstance, sufficient, one would think, without *nocturnal assemblies*, to sour this sweet-tempered *Antiquity in its public capacity*.

But he goes on—*Persecution for* DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE *owes it's nativity to more modern ages; and Spain was its country, where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for mere opinion.*

Here we have another cast of his office. The question between us is, "Whether the Christians were first per-"secuted for their *faith in general*, or for their *noctur-*"*nal assemblies*." I hold the former; he contends for the latter: and to confute my opinion, observes "that "*persecution for* DIFFERENCE of *belief alone*, was of "later date, and began with Priscillian:" That is, persecution for MODES OF FAITH began at that time. Well, and if it did, what then? What is this to the dispute between us? I never held, because Jesus and his Apostles never foretold, that the first Christians should be persecuted by the Pagans for *modes of Faith*; but on the contrary, for the very *genius of that Faith*, so opposite to the idolatrous world.

Paganism had no dogmatic theology, or, what we call *Religion*: and not having the thing, it was no wonder they had not the word: neither the Greeks nor Romans, with all their abundance, had a word for that moral mode: the Latin word *Religio*, when it comes nearest to

to it, signifies only a *set of ceremonies.* However, though they were without a dogmatic theology, yet they had their general principles; but these principles regarded *utility* rather than *truth*; the chief of which was that of *intercommunity*; which the principle of Christianity directly opposing, they rose against this principle, and so began a persecution. Pagans therefore, having no *modes of faith*, could not persecute for any: but Christians, who had, might and did persecute for them.

Again, when the persecution is for *modes of faith*, their truth or falsehood comes in question: when for the *common genius of a religion*, its harmlessness or malignity is the only matter of inquiry. Now the pagan persecutors were so far from regarding Christianity as a false religion, that they were ready*, according to their *general indulgence to all who dissented from the established worship*, to put the professors of the Faith on a footing with other foreign sects: but this would not serve their turn. The Christians believed their Religion to be the only true; and therefore, that it should be the only one professed. This PARADOX brought on persecution. But for what? not for the profession of a *falsehood*; but for a practised *hatred to the whole race of mankind.*

Here then, we find, the learned Critic has shuffled in one question for another; and again put the change upon his reader; and perhaps, upon himself.

But to let his *reasoning* pass, and come to his *fact*: which, as a Critic, he is much more concerned, in honour, to support.——*Priscillian* (it seems) *was the first sufferer for mere opinion.* But how shall we reconcile him to himself in this matter? for as he goes on to display his learning, he unluckily discovers a much earlier original of *persecution for mere opinion* than that

* Cæcilius, the Pagan, in Minucius Felix, draws the following extraordinary character of the genius of the Roman Religion—dum obsessi, et citra solum capitolium capti, colunt deos, quos alius jam aprevisset iratos—dum captis hostilibus mœnibus, adhuc ferociente victoria, numina victa venerantur: dum undique hospites deos quærunt, et suos faciunt: dum aras extruunt etiam *ignotis numinibus* et manibus. Sic dum universarum gentium sacra suscipiunt, etium regna meruerunt.

of the *first sufferer, Priscillian:* This was in the *holy wars* (as he calls them) of the idolatrous Egyptians (p. 583): which, according to his own account, were *persecutions for difference of belief alone.* Here then we stick, between *the first*, and *the first of all*;—but not long. He has a fetch to bring us off. "This *holy war* was indeed *persecution* in the Egyptians, who dealt and felt the blows; but it was still *toleration*, and civil policy in those, who set them together by the ears: for it was a standing maxim with the Romans, to support and encourage in the subdued Provinces, a *variety* in religious worship; which occasioning *holy wars*, the parties concerned to carry them on with proper decency and zeal had work enough cut out for them, without forming plots and conspiracies against their Masters." Thus, although, in these *tools* the Egyptians, the *holy war* might be persecution for opinions, yet in the *workmen*, who put it to use, it was an engine of state. *The Egyptian superstition* (says our learned Civilian) *was rather an engine of state. Rather* than what?—than persecution. How so, when superstition made them persecute? No matter for that. It was under the direction of their Masters: and in their hands it was an *engine of state.* It is pity that so great a politician as our Chancellor had not still, like his predecessors the Chancellors of old, a patent for making these *engines.* We know of One who has long lived upon this trade: and an example of his management may set our Chancellor's political refinement in a true light. The *Roman Conclave* succeeded to the *Roman Senate* in this engineering work; and the later *holy wars in Egypt* carried on by their sainted Kings and their imperious Saints, were contrived and fomented by the *Roman Church*, as before by the *Roman* State, to divert the subject nations from quarrelling with the sacred See. —But what then? If a spirit of Policy projected it, was it not a spirit of Superstition that put it in hand? And the point our learned Civilian is debating, though only with himself, is the spirit of *Pagan Religion*, not the spirit of *Roman Policy.* Now surely it is a terrible breach in the general indulgence of paganism, even as he states it, to find *holy wars* amongst them *for difference*

ference of belief alone; a species of persecution which, in another place, he expressly tells us, *owed its nativity to modern ages.*

To say the truth, *Persecution* is one of the wickedest imps of Hell, and capable of any mischief: but who would have suspected it of this trick, played as it were, in its mother's belly; so long before its NATIVITY; and while yet it had scarce got a *human* being? But the adventure was, in all respects, extraordinary; and well deserving the pen of our illustrious Historian.

Seriously, He seems much better fitted, whether as Critic or Civilian, to manage the intrigues of the Greek and Roman Alphabets, (whose Revolutions make so shining a figure in this splendid Dissertation on the *Bacchanals*) than to develop the policy of Empires, or to adjust the rights of civil and religious Societies.

But it is now time to shew, that his hypothesis has as little support from *reason* as from *fact*: and that *nocturnal assemblies* neither DID, nor, on our Critic's own principles, possibly COULD, give birth to Persecution, even though these assemblies had preceded all *interruptions of the civil power.*

While the common opinion remained undisputed, that nocturnal assemblies were held to avoid persecution, all men saw a sufficient reason for their practice. But since we have been told, that they *preceded* persecution, and were the *cause* of it, we are utterly at a loss to account for so extraordinary a mode of worship in the immediate followers of Christ. For the original of *nocturnal assemblies* being now, CHOICE, not NECESSITY, they must be resolved into one or other of these causes—

1. Either because *true Christianity* hath mysterious rites, proper to be celebrated in the night-time, like the pagan Orgies:

2. Or that the *first propagators* of the Faith affected to imitate the dark and enigmatic genius of Paganism:

3. Or that *their followers* were a set of gloomy Fanatics, who delighted in the horrors of a midnight season:

4. Or lastly, that, like the BACCHANALS (whose story gave birth to this new hypothesis) they had some very debauched and licentious practices to conceal, whose celebration

bration was only adapted to the obscenities of night and darkness.'

Now, of all these causes, our learned Critic, as a Dispenser of the doctrine, and a Minister of the discipline of the church, can admit only the *second*. He is too well instructed in the nature of the Christian Religion to allow the *first*; and he has too great a regard for the honour of its early Professors, to suppose it possible to be the *third* or *fourth*.

He must needs conclude, therefore, that the primitive Christians went voluntarily into this practice, in imitation of the mysterious rites of Paganism. On a presumption of the truth of this fact, he must build his hypothesis—*It may be asked* (says he) *in that almost universal licence or toleration, which the Ancients, the Romans particularly, extended to the professors of all Religions whatsoever, why the Christian profession alone, which might have expected a favourable treatment, seems to stand exempted, and frequently felt the severity of the bitterest persecution?*—Having *asked* this, he very magisterially solves the riddle: *They met* (says he) *with molestations from that quarter,* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal.*

What, now, would be the first reflection of a reader, unacquainted with Greece and Rome? Would he not conclude, that *nocturnal assemblies* for religious worship were, till now, unknown in paganism, and regarded as a prodigy, to be expiated only by capital punishments? He would never conceive that *mysterious* and *nocturnal* Rites were the most venerable and sacred part of their worship. But when he is told that these Christian Assemblies were in imitation of the most favourite practices of Gentilism, and to conciliate the world's good will, he will be lost in wonder, that a modern Critic should pretend to know better what would appease or irritate the Pagans than the primitive Church did, which had the best opportunities of distinguishing in these matters, and was most concerned not to be mistaken. He will tell our Critic, 'that if he really aims at the solution of what he calls a difficulty, he should seek for a *cause* as uncommon and singular as the *effect*. The EFFECT, *religious persecution*, our Critic himself tells us, was a thing

thing almost unknown to the pagan world: but the CAUSE, *nocturnal assemblies*, was as common and as extensive as idolatry itself.

—All the various Religions of Paganism, were ever attended with *mysterious* rites, which (to keep up a veneration for the worship, and to create a sacred horror in the Participant) were generally celebrated in the *night*. But as this afforded opportunities of private enormities, as well as of danger to the State, the laws of the best governed countries, such as Greece, required that foreign Religions, which celebrated such rites, should have the previous licence of the magistrate. Hence we find, that, by a *Law of the twelve tables* (an institute composed chiefly from the Grecian laws) clandestine assemblies held in the night were punished with death. In course of time, as superstition abounded, this law was but little observed: for, in the 560th year of Rome, some spurious rites of Bacchus had crept out of Greece, and insinuated themselves into the city; where being celebrated by night, without the knowledge or licence of the Magistrate, they presently suffered an abominable corruption*. On discovery, they were abolished; and fresh vigour given to the *law of the twelve tables*, by a new regulation for celebrating of nocturnal worship. So cautious and tender was the magistrate (even under this horrid provocation) of violating the rights of Religion in this capital point of *mysterious* worship: nor did the heat of reformation carry him to impinge upon any other of the nocturnal Rites, then celebrated in Rome; such as the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea*.

Greece and Asia had been long famous for the celebration of this kind of rites: which, Rome, now masters of the east, brought home with them; together with the other ARTS of Greece, of which, Cicero † reckons these of the MYSTERIES in the first class. And thus things continued in respect to these rites, throughout the whole Roman Empire, down even to the time of Valentinian; who, out of zeal for Christianity, published an edict to abolish the most famous of them all, the ELEUSINIAN. But he was diverted from his purpose by his prudent minister, Prætextatus; who assured him, that it would

* See Divine Legation, Book II. Sect. 6. † De Legg.

drive

drive Greece and Asia to despair, and endanger the peace of the Empire *.

Such was the state and condition of *nocturnal assemblies* in the pagan world: They were of the earliest original; of the most venerable use; and practised with the fondest attachment. In the very centre, and during the full celebrity, of these Rites, the Christian church arose: which, if you will believe our Critic, went into them with as much spirit and attention as any Gentile Community of them all. When, strange to tell! the Genius of Paganism, so indulgent to new forms of Religion (every one of which had their *Mysteries*, and most of them their *nocturnal assemblies*) all of a sudden turned tail, and fell foul upon this rising Sect, for a circumstance common to all, and in a time of full peace and security.

What could occasion so unexpected a reception? Was it any disgust the PEOPLE had entertained to this Christian rite? (for, indeed, on their passions, the Magistrate is generally obliged to square his administration). This could not be; for the People (every where the same) are rarely offended, in religious matters, but with novelties. What is of common use they receive with indifference; often with a favourable prejudice. Our Critic confounds the nature and order of things, to make Paganism passive and unprovoked at a Principle which subverted the whole system of their religion, namely, the UNSOCIABILITY of the Christian Faith; and yet mortally offended with a practice the most sacred and universal in Paganism, namely, MYSTERIOUS AND NOCTURNAL RITES.

But it will be said, "Some jealousy entertained of this way of worship, by the MAGISTRATE, might occasion that fiery inquisition: Nocturnal assemblies had been abused, and therefore it became him to be very attentive to every new institution of the like kind." Here our Critic will appeal to his *Bacchanalian rites!* and, indeed, it seems to have been this detestable Mummery which first put the fancy into his head. But this abuse was a single, temporary thing, and had been long forgotten. Nocturnal assemblies had since that time

* Zosim. l. iv.

been

been practised, for many ages, without jealousy. Cicero, indeed, in an ideal Utopia*, had declared against them: but he brings them in, apparently for no other purpose than to stigmatize his mortal enemy Clodius. And, what is remarkable, he gives not the least intimation that the abuses of nocturnal assemblies had ever been so general as to keep alive the attention or jealousy of the Magistrate: Particulars had now and then perverted them to the gratification of their lusts; and for this (for want of better evidence) he appeals to the comic poets of Greece, where indeed some of the Mysteries appear to have undergone a shameful corruption.

However, let us suppose the state of Rome to be as delicate on this point as our Critic's hypothesis requires it to be: Their circumspection could never go further than to regulate or to reform these Assemblies: it could never proceed to the suppression or abolition of them, because nocturnal meetings made an essential part of their own worship.

It is probable, indeed, that those ridiculous calumnies of the Vulgar, concerning the immoralities committed in the nocturnal assemblies of the Christians, might reach the ears of the Magistrate: But if he attended to them, would he not begin his inquiry by examining into the truth of them, as he had done in the case of the *Bacchanalian rites?* and when he found them as innocent as Pliny the Younger, on a like examination, reports them to have been, would not the search have ended here; and a share of that universal toleration, which he afforded to others, been imparted to them likewise?

Our Critic may perhaps say, that these Christians were such lovers of a secret, that they would not reveal the nature of their rites to the Pagan Magistrate, though it were to entitle them to his protection. Should he say this, he would forget the principles I have now forced him to go upon, which will allow no other reason of the first Christians' falling into this practice, than to conciliate the good will of their Pagan neighbours.

Well, but "there might be some idolatrous Test required to qualify the Church for its share in this toleration

* De Legg.

of

of nocturnal worship; and, for non-compliance with the condition (he may tell us) the persecution began." It is, indeed, likely enough that such a Test was required; and most probably it consisted in their approbation of the principle of *intercommunity*; if not in words, yet at least in deeds; such as throwing a grain or two of incense on the Pagan altars. But then the mischief of this evasion is, that it brings us round again to the place from whence the learned Critic set out, when he turned his back upon the reason given in *The Divine Legation* for toleration, and would needs seek a better in *nocturnal assemblies.*

Hitherto we cannot conceive how a persecution could so much as *begin*, from the cause our Critic has assigned. But let us, for argument's sake, suppose, that the Magistrate, out of mere caprice (for we have shewn he could have no reason) and in the plenitude of his power, would forbid the Christians their *nocturnal assemblies*, while he allowed the privilege to all besides: Even in this case, his persecution must end almost as soon as it was begun: it is impossible, on our Critic's own principles, that it should have any continuance: for, as the *choice* of nocturnal assemblies was only to reconcile Paganism to Christianity, when they found their neighbours receive these advances so ungraciously, they would soon remove the occasion of offence; in which they would be quickened by their knowledge of the *rights of the Sovereign*, to whom, in things indifferent, they had been told, all obedience was due.

Thus the matter being turned on all sides, we find that NO persecution whatever could follow from that *cause*, which our learned Civilian has assigned for the whole TEN.

But it being certain, that persecuted they were; and as certain, that our Civilian will admit of no other cause than what he himself has given, namely, their *nocturnal assemblies*: Let us for once suppose him to be in the right; and then consider the consequences which will arise from it. When we have done this, we shall have done his System full justice; and the reader, with sufficient knowledge of the case, may take or reject it as he finds himself inclined.

HYPO-

HYPOTHESES are often very plausible, and much oftener very flattering things. You shall have of these, so fair and promising, that an honest reader shall be tempted to wish them, and, from wishing, to think them, true. But this, before us, is by no means in the number of those specious visions.

I seriously believe it would be doing our Chancellor great injustice to suppose he had any other view in this notable discovery than to do honour to the Christian name: much less should we suspect that he had any formed design of traducing it. Yet it is very certain, that neither COLLINS nor TINDAL could have formed a project more injurious to the reputation of primitive Christianity, than to prove, what is the aim of this learned Critic, that THE FIRST CHRISTIANS WERE PERSECUTED FOR HOLDING THEIR ASSEMBLIES IN THE NIGHT-TIME. For it inevitably follows, that these early professors of the Faith were either wild FANATICS or abandoned LIBERTINES: and consequently, that the Pagan Magistrate did but his duty in inforcing, what the Church had been so long accustomed to call, a *cruel and unjust persecution.*

Before the conception of this new fancy, it was universally supposed, that the primitive Christians *assembled in the night-time, to avoid the interruptions of the civil power.* This our Critic assures us is a mistake. It is NOT TRUE (says he); *but the converse of the proposition is true* IN THE UTMOST LATITUDE, *viz. that they met with molestation from the civil power* BECAUSE *their assemblies were nocturnal.*

While the common opinion prevailed, these *nocturnal assemblies*, recorded in ancient church-history, gave as little scandal to the Pagans of our times, as indeed they did to the Pagans of their own. But when this opinion is given up for the sake of its CONVERSE, we shall be utterly at a loss to account, to our irreligious Inquisitors, for so extraordinary a CHOICE in the immediate followers of Christ.

It hath been shewn above, that these voluntary Assemblies could be occasioned only by one or other of these causes—either that the Christian religion hath *Mysteries*, like the Pagan, which required nocturnal celebra-

celebrations—or that the first preachers of Christianity affected to imitate the practices of Paganism—or that they were Fanatics, and delighted in the horrors of a midnight season—or lastly, that, like the debauched Bacchanals, they had some very licentious Rites to be performed only in the dark.

Our Critic's religious principles will not allow him to admit of any of these causes but the *second*. And I have shewn that, from the *second*, no persecution could arise, or, at least, could continue. This, on a supposition that the Christians affected to imitate pagan observances. But it is a supposition which contradicts fact, and violates the nature of things. The history of the infant-church informs us, that the first Propagators of the Faith were most averse to every thing which bore a shew of conformity to Paganism. They could not but be so, for their Religion rose out of Judaism, which breathes nothing but opposition to Idolatry.

In course of time, indeed, when pious zeal, by growing overheated, became less pure; when love of pomp and show (which is natural to men busied in the external offices of Religion), and the affectation of importance (which is as natural to those who preside in them), had spread their leprosy through the Church, the Ministers of the Gospel would be fatally tempted to rival the magnificence, and to ape the mysterious air of Paganism. And the obliquities, which led them into these follies, they would strive to palliate or disguise by a pretended impatience for the speedier extension of the Faith. I have shewn, from Casaubon, how this corrupt conduct infected all the language of Theology *. But this was some ages after the times in question.

Our Critic may perhaps tell us, it was accident or whim which drew together the first Christians into dark corners; and as the *evening and the morning made the first day* of the old Creation, so it was to make *the first day* of the new: And thus *Night*, by her proper Usher, *Chance*, became once again reinstated in her ancient honours.

But this will stand him in small stead. He has not only to account for the first threatenings of Persecution,

* Div. Leg. Vol. I. pp. 69. & 352.

but

but for the ACT; and, what is still more, for the continuance of it. Now, what the Christians fell into with so little reason, they would certainly forsake on the appearance of so great, as the displeasure of the Magistrate, and the crime and danger of disobeying lawful Authority. It is possible, indeed, that, in the heat of Persecution, some over zealous men might mistake their noncompliance with such commands as a necessary mark of their open profession of the Faith. But this was not generally the case; Their common practice was *to give to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's; and to God, the things which were God's:* Of this, we have sufficient evidence in the famous letter of Pliny the younger, before quoted. Trajan had forbidden the assemblies called *Hetæriæ*, which succeeded those of public worship, and were used by the Christians of Bithynia, to confirm and bind them to one another in the practice of virtue, by the external badge or ceremony of *breaking bread*; and we are assured by this vigilant Magistrate, that the Christians, under his jurisdiction obeyed the imperial Edict*.

From all this Letter it appears, that the only *causes*, which, on our Critic's principles, could possibly bring on and continue persecution (if persecution arose from nocturnal or clandestine assemblies), must be either FANATICISM OR DEBAUCHED PRACTICES: in the first case, their obstinacy would make them persist; in the other, their libertinage. To these agreeable conclusions, have our learned Civilian's principles reduced us for a solution of our difficulties: and such is the flattering picture, he has exhibited of primitive Christianity. Could its most inveterate enemies desire more! or, if its friends should give credit to these fancies, would its enemies be content with less? Such are the disgraces which this *converse proposition* is ready to bring upon Christianity; disgraces of so complicated a stain, as not simply to dishonour our holy Faith, but even to justify the powers of Paganism in all the violences they offered to it.

* —quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere, &c.—quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen & innoxium: quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. Lib. x. Ep. 97.

For the Magistrate had a right to suppress the clandestine meetings of Fanaticism and Debauchery.

But our Enemies will have no need to fly to *consequences* for the discharge of the pagan Magistrates; our Christian Chancellor himself proceeds directly to their acquittal. He frankly tells us, that their duty, as Magistrates, required them to animadvert on *nocturnal assemblies*, where they bound themselves to one another, and employed the word SACRAMENTUM for a kind of tessera of union; the very appearance of guilt which had occasioned the *decree* against the infamous rites of Bacchus.

You will say, this is horrid, to make the Magistrate prosecute the primitive Christians by the same provision which obliged him to exterminate those monsters of society! But who can help it? Our Chancellor had but this one precedent for the prosecution of *nocturnal assemblies*; and if it be not the most honourable support of his hypothesis, it is not his fault.

But there was no proof (you will say) against the Christian, as there was against those Bacchanalian assemblies. What of that? Our Chancellor opines, that mere suspicion, in so delicate an affair, was sufficient to acquit the Magistrate of blame: nay, to make his conduct, in his care and jealousy for the State, very commendable. You shall have his own words. *A jealous Governor therefore, and a stranger to the true principles of Christianity, was naturally open to such impressions*; *and* COULD NOT BUT *exert that caution and attention which the practice of their Country so warmly recommended.* p. 579. Could Cicero himself have been more *warm*, not to say more eloquent, in defending the Decree which dispersed the profligate crew of Bacchanals?

And now a very capital point of Ecclesiastical history is cleared up and settled. "The Ten Persecutions were begun and carried on, not, as had been hitherto supposed, upon the score of Religion, or mere opinion, but against bad Subjects, or, at least against those who were reasonably suspected of being such." And this is given to us by the learned Critic as the true defence of free and generous Antiquity, IN ITS PUBLIC CAPACITY:

just

just as in free Britain (where, indeed, we now find small difference, as to freedom, between its *public* and its *private capacity*, except to the advantage of the latter), when Papists complain of the penal laws, we reply, They are not inforced against erroneous Religionists, but against refractory Subjects, for refusing the Magistrate the common security for obedience.—There is indeed a difference; our answer to the Papists is a serious truth; and our Critic's apology for the pagan Persecutors, an idle and ridiculous fiction.

But as if he had not yet done enough for his beloved Antiquity, in thus blanching its TEN PERSECUTIONS: he goes on to clear it from the opprobrium of persecution in general; by charging the original of this diabolic practice on the Christian Church; where, indeed, the Freethinkers had very confidently placed it, till the Author of *The Divine Legation* restored it to its right owner, the Pagan Magistrate.——PERSECUTION FOR DIFFERENCE OF BELIEF ALONE (says our learned Civilian) OWES ITS NATIVITY TO MORE MODERN AGES; *and Spain was its country; where Priscillian, by some, is held to be the first sufferer for* MERE OPINION.

Thus the whole blame of PERSECUTION for Religion is thrown from the Gentile Persecutors, upon the suffering Church: And Christianity, or for its follies or its crimes (as either insulting civil Society by its obstinacy, or polluting it by its vices), stands covered with confusion. So happy an advocate has our learned Civilian approved himself for the Cause to which, by a double tie, he had devoted and engaged his ministry.——

The length of these animadversions hindered them from finding a place in the body of this volume, amongst other things of the like sort. Except for this, he had no claim to be distinguished from his fellows. I had a large choice before me: for who has not signalized himself against the DIVINE LEGATION? Bigots, Hutchinsonians, Methodists, Answerers, Freethinkers, and Fanatics, have in their turns been all up in arms against it. Quid dicam? (to use the words of an honest man in the same circumstances) Commune fere hoc eorum fatum est, quorum opera supremum Numen uti vult in Ecclesia, ut MATURE *insidiis, accusationibus* et *criminationibus*

nationibus appetantur. The scene was opened by a false Zealot, and at present seems likely to be closed by a true Behmenist *. A natural and easy progress, from knavery to madness, where the Imposture fails: as the progress is from madness to knavery, where it succeeds. It was now time to settle my accounts with them. To this end I applied to a learned person, who, in consideration of our friendship, hath been prevailed upon to undergo the drudgery of turning over this dirty heap, and marking what he imagined would in the least deserve, or could justify any notice: for I would not have the reader conceive so miserably of me as to think I was ever disposed to look into them myself. He will find, as he goes along, both in the text and the notes, what was thought least unworthy of an answer. Nor let it give him too much scandal that, in a work which I have now put into as good a condition for him as I was able, I have revived the memory of the numerous and gross absurdities of these writers, part of whom are dead, and the rest forgotten: For he will consider, that it may prove an useful barrier to the return of the like follies, in after-times, against more successful Inquirers into Truth. The seeds of Folly, as well as Wit, are connate with the mind: and when, at any time, the teeming intellect gives promise of an unexpected harvest, the trash starts up with it, and is ever forward to wind itself about rising Truth, and hinder its progress to maturity. Were it not for this, I should refer the candid reader to what I take to be the best defence and support of the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION, the succinct view of the whole and of all its parts, which he will find at the conclusion of the last of these Volumes †. For, as Lord Verulam says excellently well, THE HARMONY OF A SCIENCE, SUPPORTING EACH PART THE OTHER, IS, AND OUGHT TO BE, THE TRUE AND BRIEF CONFUTATION AND SUPPRESSION OF ALL THE SMALLER SORTS OF OBJECTIONS.

* Rev. Mr. William Law.
† Vol. VI. of this Edit.

THE

DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK IV.

SECT. I.

THE foregoing Volume * hath occasionally, and in the course of my main argument, shewn the reader, that it was always the practice of mankind to listen to, and embrace some pretended REVELATION; in neglect of what is called, in contradistinction to it, the RELIGION OF NATURE; that, I mean, which is only founded on our relation to the first Cause; and deducible from the eternal reason of things †.

If ever a general propensity might be called a dictate of Nature, this surely may. That such a propensity there is, the Deist, or pretended follower of *natural Religion*, freely confesseth, nay, is forward to insist upon, as a circumstance of discredit to those *Revelations*, which we receive for true. Yet surely, of all his visionary advantages, none ever afforded him less cause of triumph; a consequence flowing from it, which is entirely subversive of his whole scheme.

For let me ask such a one, What could be the cause

* Books I. II. III.

† Σὺ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν τῆς δεισιδαίμονος πλάνης, ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν διάπλωσιν. φύσει μὲν ἔν τε αὐτοδιδάκτοις ἐννοίαις, μᾶλλον δὲ θεοδιδάκτοις, καλόντι τε ὠφέλιμον τυγχάνειν, τὸ σημαῖνον τῆς τοῦ θείου προσηγορίαν τε καὶ οὐσίαν. πάλαι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι κοιναῖς λογισμοῖς προειλήφεσαν, τὸν τῶν ὅλων Δημιουργὸν, τοῦτο πάσῃ λογικῇ καὶ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ, φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις ὑποσπείραντος. ὃ μὴν καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τῇ κατὰ λόγον ἐκέχρηντο. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6. Edit. Steph. pp. 45, 46.

of so universal a *propensity* in all ages, places, and people? But before he answer, let him see that he be able to distinguish between the causes which the Few had in giving, and the Many in receiving, pretended Revelations. The causes for projecting and giving are explained at large in the former volume; where it is shewn, that all the pretended Revelations, but real corruptions of religion, came from Princes and Lawgivers. It is true, he hath been taught otherwise. His instructors, the Tolands and Tindals of the time, assure him, that all came from the PRIESTS; and I suppose they spoke what they believed: It might be so, for any thing they knew.

My question then is, What could induce Mankind to embrace these offered Revelations, unless it were,

1. Either a CONSCIOUSNESS, that they wanted a revealed Will for the rule of their actions; or,
2. An old TRADITION, that God had vouchsafed it to their forefathers?

One can hardly conceive any thing else; for a general effect must have as general a cause: which, in this case, is only to be found in the *nature* of man; or in a *tradition* preserved in the whole race. Prince-craft or priest-craft might indeed offer them, for their own private ends: but nothing short of a common inducement could dispose mankind to accept them.

1. As to the consciousness of the want of a Revelation, that may fairly be inferred from the miserable blindness of our condition: And he who wants to be informed of this, should consult Antiquity; or, what may be more for his ease, those modern writers, who, for no very good ends, but yet to a very good issue, have drawn such lively pictures of it, from thence. But without going even so far, he may find, in the very disposition to receive such absurd schemes of religion as Revelations from heaven, more than a thousand other arguments to prove men ignorant of the first principles of natural religion; a very moderate knowledge of which would have certainly detected the imposture of those pretences. But now, men so totally at a loss for a rule of life, would greedily embrace any direction that came with pretended credentials from heaven.

If

If we turn to the Few, the wise and learned amongst them, we shall find the case still more desperate. In religious matters, these were blinder even than the People; and in proportion too, as they were less conscious of their ignorance. The most advanced in the knowledge of human nature and its dependencies, were, without question, the ancient Sages of Greece. Of these, the wisest, and far the wisest, was SOCRATES; for he saw and confessed his ignorance, and deplored the want of a superior direction. For the rest, who thought *themselves wise*, and appeared not so sensibly to feel their wants, we have shewn at large *, how they *became Fools*; and, debauched by false science, affected the language of Gods before they had well emancipated themselves from the condition of brutes †. The two great supports of natural religion, in the world at large, are the belief of a FUTURE STATE, and the knowledge of MORAL OBLIGATION. The first was rejected by all; and the true ground of the second was understood by none: The honour of this discovery was reserved for Revelation, which teacheth us, in spite of unwilling hearers, that *the real ground of moral obligation is the will of God.*

2. There only remains that other possible cause, *the general tradition of God's early revelation of his will to mankind*, as delivered in Scripture. I, for my part, suppose both concerned in the effect; and that that state of mind which disposed men to so ready and general a reception of these numerous impostures, was the result of the consciousness of their wants, joined to the prejudice of Tradition. If the Deist allow Tradition, he gives up the question; if he acknowledge our wants, he affords a strong presumption, in favour of Revelation.

For if man (let the cause proceed from what it will) be so irrecoverably blind and helpless, it is highly reasonable to think that Infinite Goodness would lead and enlighten him by an extraordinary revelation of his will.

But here, Tindal objects, "That this blindness is

* Book iii. § 2, 3, 4, & 5.

† The Stoics, who thought the soul mortal, yet reckoned their *wise man* equal, or superior, to the gods.

men's own fault, who, instead of improving their reason, and following its dictates, which would lead them into all truth (our own Scriptures assuring us, that *that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them* *), go on like beasts, and follow one another as they are led or driven."

To this I answer, that what had been the lot of man from the beginning of the world to the birth of CHRIST, was like to continue so to the end of it. A deviation springing from no partial cause of climate, government, or age; but the sad effect of human weakness in the circumstance of our earthly situation.——By the fault of man, it is true; but such a fault as, it is seen by long experience, man could never remedy. He therefore flies to Heaven for relief; and seems to have reason for his confidence.

But to this, our *man of morals* has a reply at hand; "That if such be our condition, it may indeed want redress; but then, a Revelation will not render the cure lasting." And for this he appeals to the corrupt state of the Christian world; which, in his opinion, seems to demand a new Revelation, to restore the virtue and efficacy of the old.

But let me tell this vain Rationalist, There is an extreme difference between the corruption of the Pagan and the Christian world. In the Pagan, where false Revelations had given men wrong ideas of the attributes of the Deity, they must of course, and did in fact, act viciously UPON PRINCIPLE †; a condition of blindness

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

† See Div. Leg. book ii. § 5.——Τὴν φύσιν θνητὺς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις κεχρημένους συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἀγαθῶν χορηγὺς, σωτῆρας καὶ θεὺς ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν σεβάσμιον ἔννοιαν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐνυπάρχουσαν, ἐφ' ὃς ἐνόμιζον εὐεργέτας μετατεθεικότες. τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα συνεῖχεν αὐτὺς φρενῶν ἀποπληξία, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν πλημμελουμένων τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπολογίζεσθαι· μηδ' ἐρυθριᾷν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχρῶς περὶ αὐτῶν φημιζομένοις, τὰ πάντα δὲ τὺς ἄνδρας διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν παρεχομένας ὠφελείας, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰς τότε πρῶτον συνισταμένας δυναστείας τε καὶ τυραννίδας ἀποθαυμάζειν. νόμων γοῦν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἤδη πρότερον μηδέπω τότε ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευομένων, μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἁμαρτίας [τιμωρίας] ἀπηωρημένης, μοιχείας καὶ ἀῤῥένων φθορὰς, ἐκθέσμους τε καὶ παρανόμους γάμους, μιαιφονίας τε καὶ πατροκτονίας, τίκνων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μὴν καὶ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις πεπραγμένας ὄντως τοῖς οἰκείοις προστάταις, ὃς θεὺς ἡγοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπηκάλουν, ὥσπερ ἐν μέρει κατορθωμάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀπεμνημόνευον, τὴν τούτων μήνμην ὡς σεμνῶν καὶ ἀνδρείων τοῖς ὀψιγόνοις ἀπολιπόντες. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 6. Edit. Steph. p. 46.

which

which seemed to call out on God's goodness for a remedy: but in the Christian world, for the very contrary reason, all wicked men act ill AGAINST PRINCIPLE; a condition of perverseness which seems to call out for nothing but his justice: God, according to the state of the case, having done every thing that man, with all his presumption, can pretend to expect from the goodness of his Maker.

So far on the Deist's own principles; on his own false notion that God's Revelation is represented in Scripture to be merely a *republication of the religion of nature.* For, as such he has presumed to comment on it; and as such, in excess of complaisance, we believers have generally thought fit to receive it. But I shall, ere long, shew it to be a very different thing: and, from its true nature, prove not only (as here) the *use* of Revelation, but likewise the absolute *necessity* of it, to mankind. I shall shew that what our adversaries suppose the only, was but the secondary end of the two Revelations; that what was primary and peculiar to them, as Revelations, was of such a nature as the utmost perversity of man could not, in any degree, defeat; of such a nature as manifests there must needs be these Revelations; and that to expect more, or further, would not only be unreasonable, but absurd *.

At present, to go on with the Deist in his own way. From what hath been said, we see a strong presumption, that God hath indeed communicated his will to mankind in that extraordinary way we call REVELATION.

And now, that amazing number of *false* religions, under paganism, begins to appear less formidable and injurious to the *true.* It was on a presumption they would prove so, that, in a foregoing volume, they were drawn out in review, with each its false Prophet at its head †. And here at last they are employed, wicked instruments as they were, and wickedly as they have been abused in dishonouring truth, to evince the high probability of God's having actually given a revelation of his will to mankind.

* See book ix. and, in the mean time, Sermons on the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, Serm. v. vol. ix.

† See book ii. § 2.

If,

If, therefore, there be such a thing as true revelation, our highest interests will engage us in the search of it: and we shall want no encouragement to proceed, because it must needs have some *characteristic mark* to distinguish it from the false. And this mark must be our guide.

Now if we look round the ancient world, and take a view of the numerous religions of paganism, we shall find (notwithstanding all pretended to be original, and all were actually independent) so perfect a harmony in their genius, and conformity in their ministrations, as to the object, subject, and end of religious worship*, that we must needs conclude them to be all false, or all true. All true they could not be, because they contradicted one another, in matters of practice and speculation, professed to be revealed.

But amongst this prodigious number of pretended revelations, we find ONE, in an obscure corner of the globe, inhabited by a single family, so fundamentally opposite to all the other institutions of mankind, as would tempt us to conclude we have here found what we search after.

The many particulars in which this religion differed from all others, will be occasionally explained as we go along. For, as our subject forced us, in the former volume, to draw into view those marks of agreement which the false had with true revelation; so the same subject brings us now to the more pleasing task of shewing wherein the true differed from the false. To our present purpose it will be sufficient to take notice only of that primary and capital mark of distinction, which differenced JUDAISM from all the rest; and this was its pretending TO COME FROM THE FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS; AND ITS CONDEMNING EVERY OTHER RELIGION FOR AN IMPOSTURE.

I. Not one of all that numerous rabble of revelations, ever pretended to come from the FIRST CAUSE †, or taught the worship of the one God in their PUBLIC ministrations ‡. So true is that which Eusebius observes

* See Div. Leg. book ii. § 1, 2, 5, 6. & book iii. § 4.
† Ibid, book ii. § 2.
‡ See note [A] at the end of this Book.

from

from Scripture, that "for the Hebrew people alone was "reserved the honour of being *initiated* into the know-"ledge of *God the Creator* of all things, and of being "instructed in the practice of true piety towards him *." I said, *in their public ministrations*, for we have seen it was taught in their *mysteries* to a few; and to their mysteries, it is remarkable, the learned Father alludes; who opposeth the case of the Hebrews, to the Pagans †; where a small and select number only was initiated into the knowledge of the Creator; but in Judea, a whole people.

II. That the Hebrews were as singular, in condemning all other religions of imposture, as in publicly worshipping one God, the Creator, hath been shewn in the former volume.

There is nothing more surprising in all Pagan Antiquity, than that, amidst their endless Revelations, not one of them should ever pretend to come from the FIRST CAUSE of all things; or should condemn the rest of falsehood: And yet there is nothing which modern writers are more accustomed to pass over without reflection. But the ancient Fathers, who were more intimately acquainted with the state of paganism, seem to have regarded it with the attention that so extraordinary a circumstance deserves: and I apprehend, it was no other than the difficulty of accounting for it, which made them recur so generally, as they do, to the agency of the DEVIL: for I must beg leave to assure certain modern rectifiers of prejudices, that the Fathers are not commonly led away by a vain superstition; as they affect to represent them: so that when these venerable writers unanimously concurred in thinking, *that the devil had a great share in the introduction and support of pagan revelation*, I imagine they were led to this conclusion from such like considerations as these,——That had these impostures been the sole agency of men, it is inconceivable that no one false prophet, no one speculative philosopher, of all those who regulated states, were well acquainted with the first Cause, and affected singularities and refinement, should ever have pretended to receive his Revelations from the

* See note [B] at the end of this Book.

† See Div. Leg. vol. ii. pp. 34. & 342.

only

only true God; or have accused the rest of falsehood: A thing so very natural for some or other of them to have done, were it but to advance their own religion, in point of truth or origin, above the rest. On the contrary, so averse were they to any thing of this management, that those who pretended to inspirations even from JUPITER, never considered him, as he was often considered by particulars, in the sense of the Creator of all things; but as the local tutelar Jupiter, of Crete, for instance, or Libya. Again, those who pretended to the best system of religion, meant not the best simply; but the best for their own peculiar community *. This, if a supernatural agency be excluded, seemed utterly unaccountable. But admitting the Devil to his share, a very good reason might be assigned: for it is certain, the suffering his agents to pretend inspiration from the first Cause would have greatly endangered idolatry; and the suffering any of them to condemn the rest of falsehood, would (by setting men upon enquiry and examination) have soon put a stop to the unbounded progress of it.

Thus, I suppose, the Fathers reasoned: and I believe our Freethinkers, with all their logic, would find it somewhat difficult to shew that they reasoned ill.

But as we have made it our business, all along, to enquire into the NATURAL causes of paganism, in all its amazing appearances, we shall go on, in the same way, to see what may be assigned for this most amazing of all.

1. First then, the FALSE PROPHET and POLITICIAN, who formerly cheated under one and the same person †, found it necessary, in his character of Prophet, to pretend inspiration from the God most reverenced by the people; and this God was generally one of their dead ancestors, or citizens, whose services to the community had procured him divine honours ‡; and who was, of course, a local tutelary Deity. In his character of Politician, he thought it of importance to have the national worship paid to the Founder of the Society, or to the father of the Tribe: for a God, who had them in peculiar, suited the gross conceptions of the people much

* See Div. Leg. book ii. § 6. † Id. Ib. § 2. ‡ Ibid. § 1.

better

better than a common Deity at large. But this practice gave birth to two principles, which prevented any opening for a pretended intercourse with the one God, the Creator. 1. The first was, an opinion of their DIVINES, that the supreme God did not immediately concern himself with the government of the world, but left it to local tutelary deities, his vicegerents *. 2. The second, an opinion of their LAWGIVERS, that it would be of fatal consequence to Society, to discover the first Cause of all things to the people †.

2. But secondly, that which one would imagine should have brought the one God, the Creator, to the knowledge of the world, in some public Institution of religion, namely, his being taught to so many in the Mysteries, and particularly to all who pretended to *revelation* and *lawgiving* ‡, was the very thing that kept him unknown; because all who came to the knowledge of him this way, had it communicated to them under the most religious seal of secresy.

3. Now, while the first Cause of all things was rejected or unknown, and nothing professed in the public worship but local tutelary Deities, each of which had his own appointment, and little concerned himself in that of another's, no one religion could accuse the other of falsehood, because they all stood upon the same foundation.

How far this may account, in a natural way, for the matter in question, is submitted to the judgment of the learned.

Here then we rest. An essential difference between the JEWISH and all other religions is now found: the very mark we wanted, to discriminate the true from the false.

As for any marks of resemblance in matters circumstantial, this will give us no manner of concern. The shame of this allegation must lie with the Deist, who can, in conscience, bring it into account, for the equal falsehood of them both; seeing, were the Jewish (as we pretend) true, and the Pagan false, that very resemblance must still remain. For what, I pray, is a false religion, but the counterfeit of a true? And what is it to counter-

* Div. Leg. book ii. § 1. † Ibid. § 4. ‡ Ibid.

feit,

feit, but to assume the likeness of the thing usurped? In good earnest, an Impostor, without one single feature of truth, would be a rarity even amongst monsters.

SECT. II.

BUT the business of this Work is not probability but DEMONSTRATION. This, therefore, only by the way, and to lead us the more easily into the main road of our enquiry: for the reader now sees we are pursuing no desperate adventure, while we endeavour to deduce the divinity of MOSES's Law, from the circumstances of the Law itself.

I go on with my proposed demonstration.

Having proved in the foregoing volume the first and second propositions——*That the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of civil Society*;—and, *That all mankind, especially the most wise and learned nations of antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching that this doctrine was of such use to civil Society*:—— I come, in this, to the third,

THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Now as, in support of the two first Propositions, I was forced to make my way through the long chicane of Atheism and Freethinking; so in defence of the third, I shall have the much harder fortune of finding Adversaries in the quarter of our Friends: for it hath happened unluckily, that mistaken conceptions of the JEWISH and of the CHRISTIAN Dispensations, have made some advocates of Revelation always unwilling to confess the truth which I here endeavour to establish; and a late revived despicable whimsy concerning the sadducism of the Hebrews, hath now violently inclined them to oppose it.

A man less fond of TRUTH, and equally attached to RELIGION, would have here stopt short, and ventured no further in a road where he must so frequently suffer the

the displeasure of forsaking those he most agrees with; and the much greater mortification of appearing to go along with those he most differs from. I have often asked myself, What I had to do, to invent new arguments for Religion, when the old ones had outlived so many generations of this mortal race of infidels and freethinkers? Why I did not rather chuse the high road of literary honours, and pick out some poor critic or small philosopher of this school, to offer up at the shrine of violated sense and virtue? Things that might be exposed to their deserved contempt on any principles; or indeed without any: I might then have flourished in the favour of my superiors, and the good-will of all my brethren. But the love of TRUTH breaks all my measures: *Imperiosa trahit veritas*; and I am once more borne away in the deep and troubled torrent of Antiquity.

These various prejudices above mentioned oblige me therefore to prove the third Proposition, in the same circumstantial manner I proved the first and second: and this will require a previous explanation of the MOSAIC POLICY.

But to form a right idea of that Institution, it will be necessary to know the genius and manners of the HEBREW PEOPLE; though it be, as we conceive, of divine appointment: and still more necessary to understand the character and abilities of their LAWGIVER, if it be, as our adversaries pretend, only of human.

Now as the Hebrews, on receiving their LAW, were but just come from a strange country, the land of EGYPT; where the people had been held in slavery and oppression; and their Leader bred at court, and instructed in all the learning of their colleges; it could not but be, that the genius and manners of both would receive a high tincture from those with whom they had so long, and in such different stations, conversed: And in fact, holy Scripture assures us, that MOSES was *conversant in all the wisdom*, and the ISRAELITES besotted *with all the whoredoms or idolatries, of Egypt*.

It will be of importance therefore to know the state of SUPERSTITION and LEARNING in Egypt during these early ages.

This, as it is a necessary, so one would think, should

be

be no difficult enquiry; for it is natural to suppose, that the same Scripture which tells us, that the Lawgiver and his people brought their wisdom and superstitions from Egypt, would tell us also what that wisdom and what those superstitions were. And so indeed it does; as will be seen in due time: Yet, by ill fortune, the fact stands, at present, so precarious, as to need much pains, and many words, to make it owned. Divines, it is confessed, seem to allow the testimony of Stephen and Ezekiel, who, under the very impulse of inspiration, say *that* MOSES *was learned in all the wisdom, and the people devoted to all the superstitions of Egypt*; yet, when they come to explain that learning, they make it to consist in such fopperies, as a wise and honest man, like MOSES, would never practise: when they come to particularize those superstitions, they will not allow even the *Golden Calf*, the ὁ ΜΩΣΧΟΣ ἔτῳ ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλεόμενῳ*, to be of their number. For by an odd chance, though not uncommon in blind scuffles, the infidels and we have changed weapons: Our enemies attack us with the Bible, to prove the Egyptians very learned and very superstitious in the time of Moses; and we defend ourselves with the *new Chronology* of Sir Isaac Newton, to prove them very barbarous and very innocent.

Would the reader know how this came about; it was in this wise: The infidels had observed (as who that ever looked into sacred and profane Antiquity hath not?) that in the Jewish Law there were many ordinances respective of the institutions of Egypt. This circumstance they seized; and, according to their custom, envenomed; by drawing from thence a conclusion against *The Divine Legation of Moses*. The defenders of Revelation, surprised with the novelty of the argument, did that, in a fright and in excess of caution, which one may observe unprepared disputants generally do, to support their opinions; that is, they chose rather to deny the PREMISSES than the CONCLUSION. For such, not knowing to what their adversary's principles may lead, think it a point of prudence to stop him in his first advance: whereas the skilful disputant well knows, that he never has his enemy at more advantage,

* Herod. l. iii. c. 28.

than

than when, by allowing the premisses, he shews him arguing wrong from his own principles; for the question being then to be decided by the certain rules of logic, his confutation exposes the weakness of the advocate as well as of the cause. When this is over, he may turn with a good grace upon the premisses; to expose them, if false; to rectify them, if misrepresented; or to employ them in the service of Religion, if truly and faithfully delivered: and this service they will never refuse him; as I shall shew in the previous question of *the high antiquity of Egypt*, and in the main question of *the omission of a future state in the institution of the Hebrews.*

And I am well persuaded that, had those excellent advocates of Religion (whose labours have set the truth in a light not to be resisted) but duly weighed the character of those with whom they had to do, they would have been less startled at any consequences the power of their logic could have deduced. The Tolands, the Blounts, the Tindals, are, in truth, of a temper and complexion, in which one finds more of that quality which subjects men to draw wrong Conclusions, than of that which enables them to invent false Principles.

The excellent SPENCER, indeed, endeavoured to dissipate this panic, by shewing these premisses to be the true key to the REASON OF THE LAW; for the want of a *sufficient reason* in the ceremonial and positive part of it, was the greatest objection, which thinking men had, to the divinity of its original.

But all this did not yet reconcile men to those premisses. It would seem as if they had another quarrel with them, besides the poor unlearned fear of their leading to the infidel's conclusion; namely, for their being an adversary's principle simply; and, on that score alone to be disputed. This is a perverse, though common prejudice, which infects our whole communication; and hath hurt unity in the church, and humanity in civil life, as well as peace in the schools. For who knows not that the same impotent aversion to things abused by an enemy, hath made one sort of sectaries divide from the national church, and another reprobate the most indifferent manners of their country *?

* Puritans, Quakers, &c.

And it is to be observed, that till that unlucky time when the infidels first blundered upon truth, this principle met with a very general reception: the ancient Fathers, and modern Divines of all denominations, concurring in their use of it, to illustrate the wisdom of God's Laws, and the truth of his Son's interpretation of them, where he assureth us that they were given to the Hebrews *for the hardness of their hearts*; no sort of men sticking out, but a few visionary Jews, who, besotted with the nonsense of their cabbala, obstinately shut their eyes against all the light which the excellent MAIMONIDES had first poured into this palpable obscure.

Not that I would be understood as admitting the premisses in the latitude in which our adversaries deliver them;

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The human mind, miserably weak and instable, and distracted with a great variety of objects, is naturally inclined to repose itself in SYSTEM; nothing being more uneasy to us than a state of doubt; or a view too large for our comprehension. Hence we see, that, of every imaginary fact, some or other have made an hypothesis; of every cloud, a castle: And the common vice of these castle-builders is to draw every thing within its precincts, which they fancy may contribute to its defence or embellishment. We have given an instance, in the foregoing book, of the folly of those who have run into the contrary extreme, and are for deriving all arts, laws and religions, from the People of God: an extravagance at length come to such a height, that, if you will believe certain writers *, the poor heathen had neither the grace to kneel to prayers, nor the wit to put their Gods under cover, till the Israelites taught them the way. But our wise adversaries are even with them; and will bate no believer an inch, in driving on an hypothesis: for had not the Egyptians, by great good luck, as they give us to understand †, enjoined *honour to parents*, and *restrained theft by punishment*, the Jews had been in a

* See note [C] at the end of this Book.

† See Marsham's Canon Chron. ed Franeq. pp. 177. 188.

sad

sad blind condition when they came to take possession of the promised land: Are these men more sober in their accounts of the religious Institutions of the Hebrews? I think not; when they pretend to prove *circumcision* of Egyptian original from the testimony of late writers, who neither speak to the point, nor in this point are in reason to be regarded, if they did *.

But why all this strife for or against the one or other hypothesis? for assuredly it would no more follow, from this of our adversaries, that the Jewish Religion was false, than from a lately revived one of our friends, which supposes all the Gods of Egypt to have come out of Abraham's family †, that the Egyptian was true.

It must indeed be of use to true religion, where or whatever it be, to trace up things to their original: and for that reason alone, without any views to party, I shall endeavour to prove the four following propositions.

1. That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that Kingdom.

2. That the Jewish people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses, were instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstititons.

3. That Moses's Egyptian learning, and the laws he instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his mission. And,

4. That those very circumstances are a strong confirmation of the truth of his pretensions.

The inquiry, into which the proof of these points will lead us, is, as we said, very necessary to the gaining a true idea of the nature of the Jewish Dispensation: as that idea will enable the reader to form a right judgment of the force of those arguments, I am preparing for the support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the doctrine*

* See note [D] at the end of this Book.

† Voyez Reflexions Critiques sur les Histoires des Anciens Peuples.

of a future state is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Jewish Dispensation. But the inquiry has still a further use. I shall employ the result of it to *strengthen* that general conclusion, THAT MOSES HAD REALLY A DIVINE MISSION, which I have promised to deduce through the medium of this third proposition: so that the reader must not think me in the humour to trifle with him, if this inquiry should prove longer than he expected.

And here, on the entrance, it will be no improper place to explain any meaning, when, in my first setting out, I promised to demonstrate the truth of the Jewish revelation, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF A RELIGIOUS DEIST. Had I meant no more by this, than that I would argue with him on common principles, I had only insulted the reader's understanding by an affected expression, while I pretended to make that peculiar to my defence, which is, or ought to be, a circumstance common to all: or had I meant so much by it, as to imply, that I would argue with the Deist on his own false principles, I had then unreasonably bespoke the reader's long attention to a mere argument *ad hominem*, which, at best, had only proved the free-thinker a bad reasoner; and who wants to be convinced of that? but my point was not so much to shew that the Infidel was in the wrong, as that the Believer was in the right. The only remaining sense then of the Deist's own principles is this, Those true principles of his, which because they are generally held by the enemies of Religion, and almost as generally rejected by the friends of it, have got the title of *deistical principles*. Such, for instance, as this I am going upon, *the high antiquity of the Egyptian wisdom*; and such as that, for the sake of which I go upon it, *the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the Mosaic dispensation*. And these are the principles by which I promise, in good time, to overturn all his conclusions.

SECT. III.

THE first proposition is, *That the Egyptian learning, celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there*

there condemned, were the very learning and superstition represented by the Greek writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.

To prove this, I shall in the first place shew (both by external and internal evidence) the just pretensions which Egypt had to a superior antiquity; and then examine the new hypothesis of Sir ISAAC NEWTON against that antiquity.

It is confessed on all hands, that the Greek writers concur in representing Egypt as one of the most ancient and powerful monarchies in the world. In support of what they deliver, we may observe, that they have given a very particular account of the civil and religious customs in use from the most early times of memory: customs of such a kind, as shew the followers of them to have been most polite and powerful.—Thus stands the Grecian evidence.

But to this it may be replied, that the Greeks are, in all respects, incompetent witnesses, and carry with them such imperfections as are sufficient to discredit any evidence; being, indeed, very *ignorant*, and very *prejudiced*. As this made them liable to imposition; so, falling, as we shall see, into ill hands, they actually were imposed on.

Their *ignorance* may be fairly collected from their age; and from the authors of their intelligence. They all lived long after the times in question; and, though they received indeed their information from Egypt itself; yet, for the most part, it was not till after the entire destruction of that ancient empire, and when it was now become a province, in succession, to Asiatic and European conquerors: when their ancient and public records were destroyed; and their very learning and genius changed to a conformity with their Grecian masters: who would needs, at this time of day, seek wisdom from Egypt, which could but furnish them with their own; though, because they would have it so, disguised under the stately obscurity of an Eastern cover *.

Nor were their *prejudices* less notorious. They thought themselves Autocthones, the original inhabitants of the earth, and indebted to none for their advan-

* See Div. Leg. book iii. § 4.

tages. But when knowledge and acquaintance with foreign nations had convinced them of their mistake; and that, so far from owing nothing to others, they owed almost every thing to Egypt; their writers, still true to their natural vanity, now gave the post of honour to these, which they could no longer keep to themselves: and complimented their new instructors with the most extravagant antiquity. What the Greeks conceived out of vain-glory, the Egyptians cherished to promote a trade. This country was long the mart of knowledge for the Eastern and Western world: and as nothing so much recommends this kind of commodity as its age, they set it off by forged records, which extended their history to a most unreasonable length of time: accounts of these have been conveyed to us by ancient authors, and fully confuted by the modern.—Thus stands the objection to the Grecian evidence. And, though I have no business to determine in this question, as the use I make of the Greek authority is not at all affected by it; yet I must needs confess that, were there no writings of higher antiquity to confirm the Grecian, their testimony would be very doubtful: but, could writings of much higher antiquity be found to contradict it, they would deserve to have no credit at all.

Whatever therefore they say of the high antiquity of Egypt, unsupported by the reason of the thing, or the testimony of holy Scripture, shall never be employed in this inquiry: but whatever Reason and Scripture seem to contradict, whether it serve the one or other purpose, I shall always totally reject.

The unanimous agreement of the Greek writers in representing Egypt as the most ancient and best policied empire in the world, is, as we say, generally known and acknowledged.

I. Let us see then, in the first place, what REASON says concerning this matter.

There is, if I be not much mistaken, one circumstance in the situation of Egypt, which seems to assert its claim to a priority amongst the civilized Nations; and consequently to it's eldership in Arts and Arms.

There is no soil on the face of the globe so fertile, but what, in a little time, becomes naturally effete by pasturage

turage and tillage. This, in the early ages of the world, forced the unsettled tribes of men to be perpetually shifting their abode. For the world lying all before them, they saw a speedier and easier relief in removing to fresh ground, than in turning their thoughts to the recovery * of the fertility of that already spent by occupation: for it is necessity alone, to which we are indebted for all the artificial methods of supplying our wants.

Now the plain of Egypt having its fertility annually restored by the periodic overflowings of the Nile, they, whom chance or choice had once directed to sit down upon its banks, had never after an occasion to remove their tents. And when men have been so long settled in a place, that the majority of the inhabitants are become natives of the soil, the inborn love of a Country has, by that time, struck such deep roots into it, that nothing but extreme violence can draw them out. Hence, civil policy arises; which, while the unsettled tribes of mankind keep shifting from place to place, remains stifled in its seeds.

This, I apprehend, if rightly considered, will induce us to conclude, that Egypt was very likely to have been one of the first civilized countries on the globe.

II. Let us see next what SCRIPTURE has recorded in support of the same truth.

1. So early as the time of Abraham we find a king in Egypt of the common name of Pharaoh †: which would induce one to believe, that the civil policy was much the same as in the times of Joseph and Moses: and how perfect it then was, will be seen presently. This kingdom is represented as abounding in corn, and capable of relieving others in a time of famine ‡: which no kingdom can do, where agriculture has not been improved by art, and regulated by a civil policy. We see the splendor of a luxurious court, in the princes who resided in the monarch's household: amongst whom, we find some (as the most thriving trade for royal favour) to have been procurers to his pleasures ‖: nor were the presents

* See note [E] at the end of this Book.

† Genesis xii. 15. ‡ Ver. 10.

‖ *The princes also of Pharaoh saw her, and* COMMENDED HER BEFORE PHARAOH; *and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house.* Gen. xii. 15.

made by Pharaoh to Abraham, at all unworthy of a great king *. An adventure of the same sort as this of Abraham's with Pharaoh, happened to his son Isaac with Abimelech; which will instruct us in the difference between an Egyptian monarch, and a petty roitelet of the Philistines. Abimelech is described as little different from a simple particular †, without his guards, or great princes: so jealous and afraid of Isaac's growing power, that he obliged him to depart out of his dominions ‡; and, not satisfied with that, went afterwards to beg a peace of him, and would swear him to the observance of it ‖.

2. The caravan of Ishmaelite merchants, going from Gilead to Egypt ¶, brings us to the second scripture-period of this ancient monarchy. And here their camel-loads of spicery, balm, and myrrh, and their traffic in young slaves **, commodities only for a rich and luxurious people, sufficiently declare the established power and wealth of Egypt. We find a captain of Pharaoh's guard; a chief butler, and a baker ††. We see in the vestures of fine linen, in the gold chains, and state-chariots given to Joseph ‡‡, all the marks of luxury and politeness: and in the cities for laying up of stores and provisions |||, the effects of wise government and opulence. Nor is the policy of a distinct PRIESTHOOD, which is so circumstantially described in the history of this period, one of the least marks of the high antiquity of this flourishing kingdom. It is agreed, on all hands, that there was such an Institution in Egypt, long before it was known in any other parts of the East. And if what Diodorous Siculus intimates to be the original of a distinct priesthood, be true, namely, the growing multitude of religious rites, we see the whole force of this observation. For multiplicity of religious rites is generally in proportion to the advances in civil life.

3. The redemption of the Hebrews from their slavery is the third period of the Egyptian monarchy, recorded in Scripture. Here, the building of treasure cities ¶¶,

* Gen. xii. 16.
† Ib. ch. xxvi. 7, 8.
‡ Ver. 16.
‖ Ver. 26, & seq.
¶ Chap. xxxvii. 25.
** Ver. 28.
†† Chap. xxxix, xl.
‡‡ Chap. xli. 42, 43.
||| Chap. xli.
¶¶ Exod. i. 11.

and

and the continual employment of so vast a multitude, in only preparing materials * for public edifices, shew the vast power and luxury of the State. Here too, we find a fixed and standing militia † of chariots; and, what is more extraordinary, of cavalry ‡: in which kind of military address the Greeks were unskilled till long after the times of the Trojan war. And indeed, if we may believe St. Paul, this kingdom was chosen by God to be the scene of all his wonders, in support of his elect people, for this very reason, that through the celebrity of so famed an empire, the power of the true God might be spread abroad, and strike the observation of the whole habitable world.—*For the Scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee; and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth* ‖.

To this let me add, that Scripture every where, throughout these three periods, represents Egypt as an entire kingdom under one monarch ¶; which is a certain mark of great advances in civil policy and power: all countries, on their first egression out of barbarity, being divided into many little States and principalities; which, as those arts improved, were naturally brought, either by power or policy, to unite and coalesce.

But here let me observe, such is the ceaseless revolution of human affairs, that that power which reduced Egypt into a monarchy, was the very thing which, when it came to its height, occasioned its falling back again under its *Reguli*. Sesostris, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, divided the Lower Egypt to his soldiery, by a kind of feudal law, into large patrimonial tenures. The successors of this militia, as Marsham reasonably conjectures **, growing powerful and factious, set up, each leader for himself, in his own patrimonial Nome. The powerful empire of the Franks, here in the West, from the same causes, underwent the same fate, from the debility of which it did not recover till these latter ages.

Thus invincibly do the Hebrew records †† support

* Exod. v. 14. † Ch. xiv. 7. ‡ Ver. 9. ‖ Rom. ix. 17.
¶ See Gen. xli. 41, 43, 45, 46, 55. xlvii. 20. & Exod. passim.
** Can. Chron. p. 446.
†† See note [F] at the end of this Book.

the

the Grecian evidence for the high antiquity of Egypt. And it is further remarkable, that the later inspired writers of the sacred canon confirm this concurrent testimony, in the constant attributes of *antiquity* and *wisdom*, which, upon all occasions, they bestow upon the Egyptian nation. Thus the prophet Isaiah, in denouncing God's judgments against this people:—"Surely the "princes of Zoan are fools, the counsel of the WISE "counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: How say "ye unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the WISE, the son "of ANCIENT KINGS? Where are they? where are "thy WISE MEN? and let them tell thee now, and let "them know what the Lord of hosts hath purposed upon "Egypt *."

But the Greek writers do not content themselves to tell us, in a vague and general manner, of the high antiquity and power of Egypt, which in that case was little to be regarded; but they support the fact, of which their books are so full, by a minute and circumstantial account of INSTITUTIONS, civil and religious, said to be observed by that people from the most early times, which, in their very nature, speak a great and powerful people; and belong only to such as are so. Now this account sacred Scripture remarkably confirms and verifies.

1. The PRIESTHOOD being the primum mobile of the Egyptian policy, we shall begin with that. Diodorus Siculus thus describes its state and establishment:—"The whole country being divided into three parts; the "first belongs to the body of Priests; an order in the "highest reverence amongst their countrymen, for their "piety to the Gods, and their consummate wisdom, ac-"quired by the best education, and the closest appli-"cation to the improvement of the mind. With their "revenues they supply all Egypt with public sacrifices; "they support a number of inferior officers, and main-"tain their own families: for the Egyptians think it ut-"terly unlawful to make any change in their public "worship; but hold that every thing should be admi-"nistered by their priests, in the same constant inva-"riable manner. Nor do they deem it at all fitting that "those, to whose cares the public is so much indebted,

* Isaiah xix. 11, 12.—See note [G] at the end of this Book.

"should

" should want the common necessaries of life: for the " priests are constantly attached to the person of the " King, as his coadjutors, counsellors, and instructors, " in the most weighty matters.—For it is not amongst " them as with the Greeks, where one single man or " woman exercises the office of the priesthood. Here " a Body or Society is employed, in sacrificing and " other rites of public worship; who transmit their " profession to their children. This Order, likewise, " is exempt from all charges and imposts, and holds " the second honours, under the King, in the public " administration *."

Of all the colleges of the priesthood, Herodotus tells us, that of HELIOPOLIS was most famed for wisdom and learning †: and Strabo says that, in his time, very spacious buildings yet remained in that place; where, as the report ran, was formerly the chief residence of the Priests, who cultivated the studies of philosophy and astronomy ‡.

Thus these three celebrated historians; whose account, in every particular, is fully confirmed by MOSES; who tells us, that the Egyptian Priests were a distinct order in the state, and had an established landed revenue; that when the famine raged so severely that the people were compelled to sell their lands to the crown for bread, the Priests still kept theirs, unalienated, and

* Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἁπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διηρημένης, τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐν θεοπρεπῆς τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, διά τε τὴν εἰς τὰς θεὰς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην ζώσιν τὴν ἄνδρας τούτους ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν προσόδων τάς τε θυσίας ἀτάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συνίλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τρέφουσι, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ὠνεῖσθαι δεῖν ἀλλάττεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίως συνίλεῖσθαι· ὅτε τοὺς πάντων προβουλευομένους, εὐδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὅτοι προβουλεύομενοι συνδιαφέρουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοί, τῶν δὲ εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γιγόμενοι—ὁ γὰρ ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρείληφεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ πᾶς τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διαφέρουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν ὁμοίαν τὸ βίω προαίρεσιν παραδιδόασιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὅτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς, καὶ δευτερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις. Bibl. Hist. p. 46. Steph. ed.

† Οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. lib. ii. c. 3.

‡ Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ οἴκους εἴδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γενέσθαι φασὶ τὸ παλαιὸν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν. Geogr. l. xvii.

were

were supplied gratis*. Diodorus's account, which gives us the reason of this indulgence, confirms the scripture-history, and is fully supported by it: for there we see, not only the reverence in which the Order was held, but the public uses of religion, to which two thirds of their revenues were applied, kept Pharaoh from attempting on their property. Again, Moses supports what Diodorus says of the public and high employment of the Priests (who were privy counsellors and ministers of state), where speaking of the priest of On †, he calls him *Chohen*, which, as J. Cocceius shews in his lexicon‡, signifies as well the friend and privy-counsellor of the King, as a Priest; and accordingly, the *Chald. Paraphr.* calls him *Princeps On.* The word often occurs; and, I imagine, was borrowed from the Egyptian language; the Hebrews having no order of priesthood before that instituted by Moses. This further appears from the name Coes ||, given to the priests of the *Samothracian Mysteries*, plainly a corruption of Coen or Chohen. The Mysteries in general, we have shewn ¶, were derived from Egypt, and particularly those of Ceres or Isis, at Eleusis: Now, in Samothrace, the Mysteries were of Ceres and Proserpine, as at Eleusis**. Lastly, Moses confirms Herodotus's and Strabo's account of the superior learning and dignity of the Heliopolitan college. When Joseph was exalted to the prime ministry, he

* *Only the land of the priests bought he not: for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; wherefore they sold not their lands.* Gen. xlvii. 22.

† Gen. xlvi. 20.

‡ *Chohen*, proprie et ex vi vocis, *qui accedit* ad Regem, et eum, qui summus est. Ideo explicationis ergô adjungitur tanquam etymologiæ evolutio, Exod. xix. 22. "Sacerdotes *qui accedunt* ad "Jehovam."—Non, quod vox *Chohen* notet *primatum*, ut vult Kimchius, sed quod notet *primos accedentium*—Certe in Ægypto fuerunt tales, et his alimonia a rege debebatur.

|| Κοῆς, ἱερεὺς Καβείρων. Hesych.

¶ Div. Leg. book. ii. § 4.

** Μυεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ τοῖς Καβείροις, ὧν Μνασίας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δ' εἰσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἄξιερος, Ἀξιόκερσα, Ἀξιόκερσος. Ἄξιερος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτης· Ἀξιόκερσα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξιόκερσος δὲ ὁ Ἅιδης· ὁ δὲ τρισθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. l. i. ver. 917.

tells

tells us, that Pharaoh married him to a daughter of the priest of On *; which the Septuagint and vulgar Latin rightly interpret HELIOPOLIS: that the king was then in a disposition to do Joseph the highest honours, is plain from the circumstances of the story; and that he principally consulted his establishment in this alliance, appears from the account given us by these Greek historians. We see the public administration was in the hands of the priesthood; who would unwillingly bear a stranger at the head of affairs. The bringing Joseph therefore into their family, and Order †, which was hereditary, was the best expedient to allay their prejudices and envy. And this Pharaoh did most effectually, by marrying him into that Cast which was then of greatest name and credit amongst them.

I will only observe, that this superior nobility of the Priests of *On* seems to have been chiefly owing to their higher antiquity. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, was the place where that luminary was principally worshipped; and certainly, from the most early times: for Diodorus tells us, that *the first Gods of Egypt were the sun and moon* ‡; the truth of which, all this, laid together, remarkably confirms. Now if we suppose, as is very reasonable, that the first established Priests in Egypt were those dedicated to the Sun at *On*, we shall not be at a loss to account for their titles of nobility. Strabo says, they were much given to astronomy; and this too we can easily believe: for what more likely than that they should be fond || of the study of that system, over which their God presided, not only in his *moral*, but in his *natural* capacity? For whether they received the doctrine from original tradition, or whether they invented it at hazard, which is more likely ¶, in order to exalt this their visible God, by giving him the post of honour, it is certain they taught that the sun was in the centre of its system, and that all the other bodies moved round it, in perpetual revolutions. This noble theory came, with the rest of the Egyptian learn-

* Gen. xlvi. 20. † See note [H] at the end of this Book.
‡ See Div. Leg. book ii. || See note [I] at the end of this Book.
¶ See Div. Leg. book i.

ing,

ing, into Greece (being brought thither by Pythagoras; who, it is remarkable, received it from Œnuphis, a priest of Heliopolis *); and, after having given the most distinguished lustre to his school, it sunk into obscurity, and suffered a total eclipse throughout a long succession of learned and unlearned ages; till these times relumed its ancient splendor, and immoveably fixed it on the most unerring principles of science.

II. Another observable circumstance of conformity between the Greek historians and MOSES, is in their accounts of the RELIGIOUS RITES of Egypt. Herodotus expressly tells us, that the Egyptians esteemed it a profanation, to sacrifice any kind of cattle, except swine, bulls, clean calves, and geese †; and, in another place, that heifers, rams, and goats were held sacred ‡, either in one province or in another: though not from any adoration paid in these early times to the *living animal*. I shall shew hereafter that the Egyptians at first only worshipped their figures or images. However picture worship must needs make the animals themselves sacred, and unfit for sacrifice. Now here again, in confirmation of this account, we are told by Scripture, that when Pharaoh would have had MOSES sacrifice to God, in the land of Egypt, according to his own family-rites, the prophet objected,—*It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: Lo shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us* ‖? And if Herodotus came any thing near the truth in his account of the early superstition of Egypt, the Israelites, we see, could not avoid sacrificing the abomination, *i. e.* the Gods of the Egyptians.

* See note [K] at the end of this Book.

† Τοῖσι γὰρ ἐδὲ ἱλήια ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὑῶν, καὶ ἰρσένων βοῶν, καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνέων, κῶς ἂν ἔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; l. ii. c. 45.

‡ —τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάσης ὁμοίως σέβονται περιάτων πασέων μάλιστα μακρῷ.—cap. xli.—Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίης ἱδρυνται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομῷ τῷ Θηβαίῃ εἰσὶ, ἔτοι μὲν πάσης οἰῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, αἰγὰς θύουσι. Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάσης ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι, σέβονται, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως πάσης σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τῷ Μένδητος ἱκνέονται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομῷ τῷ Μενδησίῳ εἰσὶ, ἔτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, οἷς θύουσι. cap. xlii.

‖ Exod. viii. 26.

And

And with what deadly hatred and revenge they pursued such imaginary impieties, the same Herodotus informs us, in another place *.

III. To come next to the CIVIL ARTS of Egypt.—Concerning their practice of physic, Herodotus says, that it was divided amongst the Faculty in this manner: "Every distinct distemper hath its own physician, who "confines himself to the study and cure of that alone, "and meddles with no other: so that all places are "crowded with physicians: for one class hath the care "of the eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth, "another of the region of the belly, and another of "occult distempers †." After this, we shall not think it strange that Joseph's physicians are represented as a number—*And Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel* ‡. A body of these domestics would now appear an extravagant piece of state, even in a first minister. But then, we see, it could not be otherwise, where each distemper had its proper physician: so that every great family, as well as city, must needs, as Herodotus expresses it, swarm with the Faculty: and a more convincing instance, of the grandeur, luxury, and politeness of a people, cannot, I think, be well given. But indeed it was this circumstance for which the Egyptian nation was peculiarly distinguished, not only by the earliest Greek writers (as we shall see hereafter), but likewise by the holy prophets. There is a remarkable passage in Jeremiah, where, foretelling the overthrow of Pharaoh's army at the Euphrates, he describes Egypt by this characteristic, her skill in medicine. *Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin the daughter of Egypt: in vain shalt thou* USE MANY MEDICINES; *for thou shalt not be cured* ||. The prophet delights in this kind of imagery, which marks out a people by its singularities, or pre-eminence. So again, in this very chap-

* Lib. ii. cap. 65.

† Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μιῆς νόσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλέα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστέασι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, κατὰ γαστέρα· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νόσων. lib. ii. c. 84.

‡ Gen. l. 2. || Jerem. xlvi. 11.

ter:

ter: EGYPT, says he, *is like a* FAIR HEIFER, *but destruction cometh: it cometh from the north. Also her hired men are in the midst of her like* FATTED BULLOCKS, *for they also are turned back and are fled away together**. For the worship of Isis and Osiris, under the figure of a cow and a bull, and afterwards by the animals themselves, was the most celebrated in all the Egyptian Ritual.

But a learned writer, frightened by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, will needs shew, the art of medicine to be of much later original †. And to make room for his hypothesis, he contrives to explain away this direct testimony of Herodotus, by a very uncommon piece of criticism. This is the substance of his reasoning, and in his own words:—"We read of "the Egyptian physicians in the days of Joseph; and "Diodorus represents them as an order of men not "only very ancient in Egypt, but as having a full em- "ployment in continually giving physic to the people, "not to cure, but to prevent their falling into distem- "pers. Herodotus says much the same thing, and "represents the ancient Egyptians as living under a "continual course of physic, undergoing so rough a re- "gimen for three days together, every month, that I "cannot but suspect some mistake, both in him, and "Diodorus's account of them in this particular. Hero- "dotus allows them to have lived in a favourable cli- "mate, and to have been a healthy people, which "seems hardly consistent with so much medicinal dis- "cipline as he imagined them to go through, almost "without interruption. The first mention we have of "physicians in the sacred pages shews indeed that there "was such a profession in Egypt in Joseph's time, and "Jacob was their patient; but their employment was "to embalm him after he was dead; we do not read "that any care was taken to give him physic whilst "alive; which inclines me to suspect that the Egyptians "had no practice for the cure of the diseases of a sick "bed in these days: we read of no sick persons in the "early ages. The diseases of Egypt, which the Israelites

* Jerem. xlvi. 20, 21.

† See note [L] at the end of this Book.

"had

" had been afraid of, were such as they had no cure
" for; and any other sicknesses were then so little
" known, that they had no names for them.——An
" early death was so unusual, that it was generally
" remarked to be a punishment for some extraordinary
" wickedness. Moses informs us, that the physicians
" embalmed Jacob; many of them were employed in
" the office, and many days time was necessary for the
" performance, and different persons performed dif-
" ferent parts of it, some being concerned in the care
" of one part of the body, and some of the other: and
" I imagine this manner of practice occasioned Hero-
" dotus to hint, that the Egyptians had a different
" physician for every distemper, or rather, as his sub-
" sequent words express, for each different part of the
" body: For so indeed they had, not to cure the
" diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. These,
" I imagine, were the offices of the Egyptian physicians
" in the early days. They were an order of the mi-
" nisters of religion. The art of curing distempers or
" diseases was not yet attempted.—We may be sure the
" physicians practised only surgery until after Homer's
" time;—for we read in him, that their whole art con-
" sisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and pre-
" paring anodynes.—In the days of Pythagoras, the
" learned began to form rules of diet for the preserva-
" tion of health, and to prescribe in this point to sick
" persons, in order to assist towards their recovery.
" And in this, Strabo tells us, consisted the practice of
" the ancient Indian physicians. They endeavoured to
" cure distempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no
" physic. Hippocrates—began the practice of visiting
" sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with suc-
" cess for their distempers. This, I think, was the
" progress of physic.—*And it must evidently appear*
" *from it, that the Egyptians could have no such phy-*
" *sicians in the days of Moses as Diodorus and Hero-*
" *dotus* SEEM *to suppose**."—So far this writer. But
if it be made appear, that the very contrary of every
thing here advanced be the truth; I shall hope, that

* The sacred and profane History of the World connected, vol. ii. Ed. 2. pp. 359, 360, 361, 364—367.

what Herodotus and Diodorus, conformable to Scripture, do not *seem to suppose*, but directly and circumstantially to affirm, may be admitted for certain.

He tells us, first, "that Diodorus represents the "Egyptian physicians as administering physic to the "people in the early times, *not to cure, but to prevent "their falling into distempers.*" One would conclude, from his manner of expression, that the historian had said they did not administer to the infirm, but to the healthy only; which gives us the idea of a superstitious kind of practice, by charms and amulets: and so indeed the writer is willing we should think of it. *I should imagine*, says he, *that their ancient prescriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious purifications.* p. 361. Let Diodorus then speak for himself: "They "prevent distempers, says he, and keep the body in "health by refrigerating and laxative medicines; by "abstinence and emetics; sometimes in a daily regi-"men, sometimes with an intermission every three or "four days: for they hold a superfluity in all food, as "usually taken; and that it is the original of distem-"pers: so that the above-mentioned regimen removes "the cause, and greatly contributes to preserve the "body in a state of health *." Here we have a very rational theory, and expert and able practice; this prescribing to prevent distempers, being, as amongst us, the result of the physician's long experience in his art: for the regimen, we see, was intermitted or continued according to the habit and constitution of the patient.

But the Egyptians being a healthy people, and living under a favourable climate, could not have occasion (says the learned writer) *for so much physic*; therefore he will *suspect their accounts*. I have observed, that these accounts are a proof of that grandeur, luxury, and politeness, which sacred and profane history ascribe

* Τὰς δὲ—νόσους προκαλαμβανόμενοι θεραπεύσι τὰ σώματα καθαρμοῖς, καὶ ποτίμοις τισὶ καθάρτηρίοις, καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίαις μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείπουσι. φασὶ γὰρ, φάσις τροφῆς ἀναδυθεῖσαν, τὸ πλέον εἶναι περίττον· ἀφ' ὧν γενέσθαι τὰς νόσους. ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιρεῖσαν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νόσου, μάλιστ' ἂν παρασκευάσαι τὴν ὑγίειαν. Bibl. l. i. p. 52.

to

to this people, and which so many other circumstances concur to make credible. Now a too great repletion, the effect of a luxurious diet, would certainly find employment for the whole tribe of evacuants (as we may see by the various experience of our own times), notwithstanding all the advantages of climate and constitution. And let me observe, and it seems to be decisive, that the very establishment of this principle of the Egyptian physic, that *all distempers arose from a too great repletion*, fully evinces them to be a very luxurious people: for a nation accustomed to a simple and frugal diet, could never have afforded sufficient observations for the invention of such a theory.

It is true, (he owns) *we hear of physicians in Joseph's family, who embalmed his father Jacob; but we do not read they gave him any physic while alive.*—Nor do we read that Jacob had any other distemper than old age; and, I suppose, Hippocrates himself would scarce have prescribed to that—*But we read of no sick persons in the early ages.* A plain man would have thought this a good reason why we read of no medicines administered. Though no man, who considers the nature of Scripture history, will think this any proof that there were *no sick persons in those early ages.*—But further, *the diseases of Egypt which the Israelites had been afraid of, were such as they had no cure for*, Deut. xxviii. 27. and from hence is inferred the low estate of medicine in these early times. One would reasonably suppose the authority here quoted, to support this observation, had informed us that these were natural diseases, which submitted not to the rude practice of that time. But we are surprised to find that they are supernatural punishments which the Prophet is here denouncing in case of disobedience: And Providence would have defeated its own purpose, in suffering these to be treatable by the common rules of art:—"But it "shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to the "voice of the Lord thy God,—The Lord will smite "thee with the botch of Egypt, &c. whereof thou canst "not be healed*." That very *Botch* or *Boil*, which God had, in their behalf, miraculously inflicted on the

* Deut. xxviii. 15. 27.

Egyptians, by the ministry of this Prophet; as appears by the following words of God himself: "If thou wilt "(says he) diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord "thy God, &c. I will *put none of these diseases upon "thee which I have brought upon the Egyptians:* for "I am the Lord that healeth thee*."—*And all other sicknesses*, this learned writer says, *were then so little known, that they had no name for them.* For which we are referred to the following words of the same denunciation, "Also every sickness and every plague which "is not written in the book of this law, them will the "Lord bring upon thee till thou be destroyed†." This seems as if the writer considered the law of Moses in the light of *Salmon's Dispensatory*, in which we reasonably suppose every disease and remedy without name or mention, to be unknown.—And still further, *An early death* (says he) *was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some wickedness:* and for this we are sent to the xxxviiith chapter of Genesis.—It seems then it was the rarity of the fact, which made men believe the evil to be a punishment. Till now I imagined, it was the sense of their being under an extraordinary Providence: it is certain at least, that the book of Genesis as plainly represents the patriarchs, as the book of Deuteronomy represents their posterity to be under that dispensation: and I hope, ere long, to prove these representations true. If then we hear in Scripture of little sickness but what is delivered as the effect of divine vengeance, no believer, I persuade myself, will ascribe this opinion to ignorance, superstition, or an unusual appearance, though pagan writers be never so much accustomed to talk in that strain‡, but will own it to be the necessary consequence of an extraordinary providence. The truth is, diseases were then, as now, common in the world at large; but the infliction of them, or an exemption from them, amongst the people of God, made part of the sanction of that economy under which they lived:—"Ye shall serve the Lord your

* Exod. xv. 26. † Deut. xxviii. 61.

‡ Eodem auctore [Homero] disci potest, morbos tum ad iram Deorum immortalium relatos esse; & ab iisdem opem posci solitam. Celsus de Medicina, lib. i. Præf.

"God,"

"God," says MOSES, "and he shall bless thy bread "and thy water, and I will take SICKNESS away from "the midst of thee*." And again, "Thou shalt be "blessed above all people,—and the Lord will take "away from thee all SICKNESS†." But there are of these Divines who read their Bible, and readily talk of the extraordinary Providence there represented, yet argue in all questions arising from sacred history as if there were indeed no such thing.

The learned writer goes on: *The physicians embalmed Jacob, many of them were employed in the office, and many days time was necessary for the performance, and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.*——This account is pretended to be taken from Diodorus: how the latter part came in, or how it can be true, unless the body were cut in pieces to be embalmed, is not easy to conceive: but we know it was embalmed intire; and Diodorus says nothing of *some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of the other.* His plain, intelligible account is this: That different persons performed different parts of the operation; one marked the place for incision; another cut; a third drew out the entrails; a fourth salted the body; a fifth washed; and a sixth embalmed it.—But the learned Writer's addition to the account seems for the sake of introducing the extraordinary criticism which follows.

And I imagine, says he, *this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to* HINT *that the Egyptians had a different physician for every distemper, or rather, as the subsequent words express, for each different part of the body: for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.*——What he means by Herodotus's *hinting*, I can hardly tell: for had the historian been to give his evidence in a court of justice, it is impossible he should have delivered himself with more precision. Let us hear him over again: "Every "distinct DISTEMPER [ΝΟΥΣΟΣ] hath its own physician, "who confines himself to the study and cure of that, "and meddles with no other; so that all places are "crowded with physicians: for one class hath the care

* Exod. xxiii. 25. † Deut. vii. 14, 15.

" of the eyes, another of the head, another of the teeth, " another of the region of the belly, and another of " OCCULT DISTEMPERS [ΑΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΝΟΥΣΩΝ."] Notwithstanding all this, by *every distemper*, is meant, it seems, *each part of a dead body*: Death, indeed, has been often called a *remedy*, but never, I believe, a *disease*, before.——But the *subsequent words*, he says, *lead us to this sense*. The reader will suspect by this, that I have not given him the whole of the account: But the *subsequent words*, whereby our author would support his interpretation, are the beginning of a new chapter about funeral rites:—*As to their mournings for the dead, and funeral rites, they are of this kind**, *&c.* Now because Herodotus speaks next of their *obsequies*, which, methinks, was methodical enough, after his account of their physicians, this writer would have the foregoing chapter an anticipation of the following; and the historian to treat of his subject before he comes to it.—He goes on:—*For so indeed they had* [*i. e.* a different physician for each different part of the body] *not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead.* How comes he to know this? Doth Scripture inform him that they had a different physician for every different part of a dead body? No. They are only the Greek writers (in his opinion) misunderstood, who are supposed to say it. But why will he depend so much upon them in their accoun of funeral rites, and so little in their account of physicians? Scripture, which says they used embalming, and had many physicians, is equally favourable to both accounts: But it may be, one is, in itself, more credible than the other. It is so; but surely it is that which tells us they had a different physician to every different distemper; for we see great use in this; it being the best, nay perhaps the only expedient of advancing medicine into a science. On the other hand, what is said of the several parts assigned to several men, in the operation of embalming, appears, at first view, much more wonderful. 'Tis true, it may be rendered credible; but then it is only by admitting the other account of the Egyptian practice of physic, which the learned writer hath rejected: for when each disorder of the body had a several

* Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ ἅδε, l. ii. c. 85.

physician,

physician, it was natural, it was expedient, that each of These who were the embalmers likewise should inspect that part of the dead corpse to which his practice was confined; partly to render the operation on the dead body more complete, but principally, by an anatomical inspection, to benefit the Living. On this account every interment required a number, as their work was to be divided in that manner which best suited the ends of their inspection. It is true, subsequent superstitions might introduce various practices in the division of this task amongst the operators, which had no relation to the primitive designs.

These I imagine, concludes our writer, *were the offices of the Egyptian physicians, in the early days; there were an order of the ministers of religion.*—He then employs some pages (pp. 361—364) to prove that the Egyptian physicians were an order of Religious; and the whole amount comes to this, that their practice was intermixed with superstitions; a circumstance which hath attended medicine through all its stages; and shall be accounted for in the progress of this enquiry.—But their *office of embalming* is likewise much insisted on: for this being part of the Egyptian funeral rites, and funeral rites being part of their religion; the consequence is, that these were religious ministers. The physicians had indeed the care of embalming; and it was, as we have hinted above, a wise designation, if ever there was any: For, first, it enabled the physicians, as we have observed, to discover something of the causes of the ἀφανέων νόσων, the *unknown* diseases, which was the district of one class; and, secondly, to improve their skill by anatomical enquiries into the cause of the *known*, which was the business of the rest. Pliny expressly says, it was the custom of their kings to cause dead bodies to be dissected, to find out the origin and nature of diseases; of which he gives a particular instance*: and

* ——Crudos [raphanos] Medici suadent ad colligenda acria viscerum dandos cum sale jejunis esse, atque ita vomitionibus præparant meatum. Tradunt & præcordiis necessarium hunc succum: quando phthisim cordi intus inhærentem, non alio potuisse depelli compertum sit in ÆGYPTO, REGIBUS CORPORA MORTUORUM AD SCRUTANDOS MORBOS INSECANTIBUS. Nat. Hist. lib. xix. cap. 5.

Syncellus, from Manetho, relates, that books of anatomy were written in the reign of the second king of the Thinites.—But to make their employment, in a sacred rite, an argument of their being an order of Religious, would be just as wise as to make the priests of the church of *Rome*, on account of their administering *extreme unction*, an order of physicians. But though the learned writer's arguments to support his fanciful opinions be thus defective, yet what he imagined in this case is very true; these physicians were properly an order of the ministers of religion; which (though it make nothing for his point, for they were still as properly physicians) I shall now shew by better arguments than those of system-makers, the testimonies of antiquity.—In the most early times of the Egyptian monarchy there was no accurate separation of science * into its distinct branches. The scholiast on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblus expressly tells us, that their ancient writings did not treat separately of medicine, astrology, and religion, but of all these together †: and Clemens Alexandrinus says, that of forty-two books of Mercury, which were the Bible of the Egyptians, six and thirty contained all their philosophy; and were to be well studied by the several orders of the priesthood, which he before mentions; the other six, which related entirely to medicine, belonged to the παστοφόροι, *i. e.* such as wore the cloak ‡; and these, as in another place, he tells us, were an order of ministers of religion ‖: and even in Greece, the art of medicine being brought thither from Egypt, went in partnership, during the first ages, with philosophy; though the separation was made long before the time which Celsus assigns to it ¶, as we shall see

* See Div. Leg. book i.

† Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μὲν τὰ Ἰατρικὰ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ Τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέγραψαν.

‡ — δύο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῇ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι· ὧν τὰς μὲν γ', τὴν πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ προφητεύοντες ἐκμανθάνουσι· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἓξ, οἱ ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΙ, ἰατρικὰς οὔσας, &c.——l. vi. Strom.

‖ —ΠΑΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΣ δὲ, ἤ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἱεροποιούντων περὶ τὸ τίμιον, τιμὴν δεδορκὼς, &c. Pæd. l. iii. c. 2. From this passage we understand, that it was an inferior order of the priesthood which practised physic; for such were those who sacrificed.

¶ Hippocrates Cous, primus quidem ex omnibus memoria dignis ab studio sapientiæ disciplinam hanc separavit. De Med. l. i. Præf.

see presently. Thus it appears that these artists were properly both priests and physicians, not very unlike the monk and friar physicians of the late ages of barbarism.

Our author now proceeds to the general history of physic. Let us see if he be more happy in his *imaginations* here. *We may be sure*, says he, *the physicians practised only surgery till after Homer's time.*—— What must we say then to the story of Melampus*, who learnt the art of physic and divination in Egypt †; and cured Prœtus's daughters of an atrabilaire disorder, with hellebore, a hundred and fifty years before the Argonautic expedition? But why not *till after the time of Homer*, who wrote not of his own time, but of the Trojan, near three hundred years before; and this in a kind of work which requires decorum, and will not suffer a mixture of later or foreign manners to be brought into the scene? The writer, therefore, at least should have said, till after the Trojan times. But how is even this supported? Why *we read in Homer, that their* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, healing wounds, and preparing anodynes*; and again, where Idomeneus says to Nestor, *That one physician is worth a many other men, for extracting arrows, and applying lenitives to the wound*;

Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀνδάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰὸς τ' ἐκλάμνειν, ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν ‡.

Homer's speakers rarely talk impertinently. Idomeneus is shewing the use of a physician in an army: now, surely, his use on these occasions consists in healing wounds. The poet therefore chose his topic of recommendation with good judgment; and we may be certain, had he spoken of the use of a physician in a peaceable city, he had placed it in the art of curing distempers: and this is no *imagination*: we shall see presently that he hath in fact done so. In the mean time let me ask, what there is in this passage, which in the least intimates that

He adds, we see, to save his credit, *ex omnibus memoria dignis*; taking it for granted, that those who were not remembered, were not worth remembering.

* See Div. Leg. book i.

† See note [M] at the end of this Book.

‡ Il. xi. ver. 514, 515.

that *the* WHOLE *art consisted in extracting arrows, and applying anodynes?* But Pliny says so *, who understands Homer to intimate thus much. What then? Is not Homer's poem still remaining; and cannot we see, without Pliny, what inference the rules of good sense authorize us to draw from the poet's words? The general humour of Antiquity, which was strangely superstitious with regard to this Father of the poets †, may be some excuse for Pliny in concluding so much from his silence; for Homer was their bible; and whatsoever was not read therein, nor could be expressly proved thereby, passed with them for apocryphal. But let us, whose veneration for Homer rises not quite so high, fairly examine the nature of his first great work: This, which is an intire scene of war and slaughter, gave him frequent occasion to take notice of outward applications, but none of internal remedies; except in the history of the pestilence; which being believed to come in punishment from the Gods, was supposed to submit to nothing but religious atonements; not to say, that it was the chirurgical part of healing only that could be mentioned with sufficient dignity. The Greeks were large feeders, and bitter railers; for which excesses, I suppose, Machaon, during the ten years siege, administered many a sound emetic and cathartic: but these were no proper ornaments for an epic poem. I said, his subject did not give him occasion to mention inward applications; nor was this said evasively, as shall now be shewn from his second poem, of a more peaceable turn; which admitting the mention of that other part of the art of medicine, the use of internal remedies, he has therefore spoken in its praise: Helen is brought in, giving Telemachus a preparation of opium; which,

* Medicina—Trojanis temporibus clara—vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. Nat. Hist. l. xxix. cap. 1. Celsus too talks in the same strain:—Quos tamen Homerus non in pestilentia, neque in variis generibus morborum aliquid attulisse auxilii, sed vulneribus tantummodo ferro & medicamentis mederi solitos esse proposuit. Ex quo apparet has partes medicinæ *solas* ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas. De Medicina, lib. i. Præf.

† —Homerum poëtam multiscium, vel potius *cunctarum rerum adprime peritum.*—And again: Ut *omnis vetustatis certissimus auctor* Homerus docet. This was said by Apuleius, a very celebrated platonic philosopher, in a juridical defence of himself before a proconsul of Africa.

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the poet tells us, she had from Polydamna, the wife of Thon the Egyptian, whose country abounded with medicinal drugs, many of which were salubrious, and many baneful; whence the physicians of that land were more skilful than the rest of mankind.

Τοῖα Διὸς Θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μειλιόεντα,
Ἐσθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΗ, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.
Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων,
Ἀνδρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης *.

Here then is an express testimony much earlier than the time of Homer, for the Egyptian physicians practising more than surgery; which was the thing to be proved.

Our author goes on: *In the days of Pythagoras the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health, and to prescribe in this point to sick persons.* This is founded on the rules of diet observed in the Pythagoric school. There seems to be something strangely perverse in this writer's way of arguing;—In the case of the Egyptian regimen, though it be expressly delivered by the Greek writers as a medicinal one, yet by reason of some superstitions in it, our author will have it to be *a religious observance*; on the contrary, this Pythagoric regimen, though it be generally represented, and even by Jamblichus himself, as a superstitious practice, yet by reason of its healthfulness, he will have to be *a course of physic.*

He proceeds:—HIPPOCRATES *began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers.* For which, Pliny is again quoted; who does indeed say he was the founder of the clinic sect: but it is strange he should say so; since Hippocrates himself, in numerous places of his writings, has informed us that it was founded long before. His tract *De diæta in acutis* begins in this manner: "Those "who have collected what we call the CNIDIAN SEN-"TENCES, have accurately enough registered the va-

* Odyss. lib. iv. ver. 227, & seq. Clarke on this place of Homer observes that Pliny, lib. xxv. c. 1. quotes this passage as ascribing a knowledge of medicinal herbs to the Egyptians before Lower Egypt was inhabited.

"rious

" rious symptoms or affections in the several distempers, " with the causes of some of them: thus far might " be well performed by a writer who was no physician, " if so it were, that he carefully examined each pa- " tient about his several affections. But what a phy- " sician should previously be well instructed in, and " what he cannot learn from his patient, that, for the " most part, is omitted in this work; some things in this " place, others in that; several of which are very " useful to be known in the art of judging by signs. As " to what is said of judging by signs, or how the cure " should be attempted, I think very differently from " them. And it is not in this particular only that they " have not my approbation: I as little like their prac- " tice in using so small a number of medicines; for the " greatest part they mention, except in acute distempers, " are purgatives, and whey, and milk for the time: " indeed, were these medicines proper for the distempers " to which they direct them to be applied, I should think " them worthy of double praise for being able to attain " their purpose so easily. But this I do not appre- " hend to be the case: however, those who have since " revised and new-modelled these *sentences*, have shewn " much more of the physician in their prescriptions *." From this long passage we may fairly draw these conclusions: 1. That there was a physic-school at Cnidus: this appears from the sentences collected under its name. 2. That the Cnidian school was derived from the Egyptian: this appears from their sole use of evacuants, in all but acute distempers. 3. That it was

* Οἱ ξυγγράψαντες τὰς ΚΝΙΔΙΑΣ καλεομένας ΓΝΩΜΑΣ, ὁκοῖα μὲν φάσχουσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νουσημάτων, ὀρθῶς ἔγραψαν, καὶ ὁκοίως ἔνια ἀπέβαινεν αὐτέων· καὶ ἄχρι μὲν τελέων καὶ μὴ ἰητροῦ ἂν δύναιτο ὀρθῶς ξυγγράψαι, εἰ εὖ παρὰ τῶν καμνόντων ἑκάστου πυθοίατο, ὁκοῖα φάσχουσιν· ὁκόσα δὲ προκαταμαθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἰητρὸν, μὴ λέγοντα τῷ κάμνοντι, τελέων τὰ πολλὰ παρεῖται· ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλοισι, καὶ ἐπίκαιρα ἔνια ἐόντα ἐς τέκμαρσιν. ὁκόταν δὲ ἐς τέκμαρσιν λέγηται ὡς χρὴ ἕκαστα ἰητρεύειν, ἐν τουτέοισι πολλὰ ἑτεροίως γινώσκω, ἢ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεξέεσαν· καὶ ἃ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινέω, ἀλλ ὅτι καὶ ὀλίγοισι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῖσιν ἀκέεσιν ἐχρίοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα αὐτέοισιν εἰρέαται, πλὴν τῶν ὀξέων νούσων, φάρμακα ἐλαφρὰ διδόναι, καὶ ὄρρον, καὶ γάλα, ἐς τὴν ὥρην ἐπιτήδειον· ἦν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἦν, καὶ ἀρμόζοντα τοῖσι νουσήμασιν, ἐφ' οἷσι παρήνεον δοῦναι, πολὺ ἂν ἀξιώτερα ἐπαίνου ἦν, ὅτι ὀλίγα ἐόντα αὐταρκέα ἐστί· νῦν δὲ οὐχ ὕστως ἔχει· οἱ μέν τοι ὕστερον ἐπιδιασκευάσαντες ἰητρικώτερον δή τι ἐπῆλθον περὶ τῶν προσοισίων ἑκάστοισιν.

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now of considerable standing; having had a reform in the teaching of more able practitioners. 4. And lastly, which is most to the point, that the physicians of this school were of the clinic sect; it being impossible they should compose such a work as Hippocrates here criticizes, without a constant attendance on the sick-bed: and therefore Hippocrates was not the founder of this sect, as Pliny, and our author after him, supposed.—But, for the established state of physic, its study as an art, and its practice as a profession, when Hippocrates made so superior a figure, we have the full evidence of Herodotus, his contemporary; who tells us, that in the time of Darius Hystaspis the physic school at Crotona was esteemed by the Greeks first in reputation; and that, at Cyrene, second *; which both implies, that these were of considerable standing, and that there were many others: and if GALEN may be believed, who, though a late writer, was yet a very competent judge, there were many others †: so that Hippocrates was so far from being the first that visited sick-beds, and prescribed with success in distempers, that he was not even the first amongst the Greeks. The truth of the matter is this, the *divine old man* (as his disciples have been wont to call him) so greatly eclipsed all that went before him, that, as posterity esteemed his works the canon, so they esteemed him the father of medicine: And this was the humour of antiquity. The same eminence in poetry made them regard Homer as the founder of his art, though they who penetrate into the perfection of his compositions, understand that nothing is more unlikely. But what is strange in this matter is, that the writer should think it evidence enough to bring in Pliny speaking of Hippocrates as the first amongst the Greeks who prescribed to sick-beds with success, for the confutation of Herodotus (contemporary with Hippocrates) in what he says of the pharmaceutic part of medicine, as an ancient practice in Egypt.

But all the writer's errors in this discourse seem to proceed from a wrong assumption, that the diætetic

* —ἐγένετο γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ, Κυρηναῖοι. lib. iii. c. 131.

† Meth. Medendi, lib. i.

medicine

medicine was, in order of time, before the pharmaceutic: and the greater simplicity of the first method seems to have led him into this mistake:—*In the days of Pythagoras*, says he, *the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health; and in this consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians; they endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but they gave no physic. Hippocrates began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribed medicines with success for their distempers. This, I think, was the progress of physic.*—I hold the matter to be just otherwise; and that, of the three parts of medicine, the CHIRURGIC, the PHARMACEUTIC, and the DIÆTETIC; the *diætetic* was the last in use; as the *chirurgic* was, in all likelihood, the first. In the early ages of long life and temperance, men were still subject to the common accidents of wounds, bruises, and dislocations; this would soon raise *surgery* into an art: agreeably to this supposition, we may observe, that Sextus Empiricus derives ἰατρὸς, a physician, from ἰὸς, a dart or arrow; the first attack upon the human species being of this more violent sort. Nor was *pharmacy* so far behind as some may imagine; nature itself often cases a too great repletion by an extraordinary evacuation; this natural remedy (whose good effects as they are immediately felt, are easily understood) would teach men to seek an artificial one, when nature was not at hand to relieve. But the very early invention of pharmacy is further seen from that superstition of antiquity, which made medicine the *gift of the Gods*. For, what medicine do they mean? It could not be setting a fracture, or closing the lips of a wound; much less a regular diet. It could be nothing then but pharmacy; and this, both in the invention and operation, had all the advantages for making its fortune: First, it was not the issue of study, but of chance; the cause of which is out of sight: but what men understand not, they generally ascribe to superior agency. It was believed, even so late as the time of Alexander *, that the Gods continued to enrich the physical dispensatory. Secondly, there was something as extraordinary in the operation as in

* Cicero de Divin. lib. ii. c. 66.

the

the invention. Pharmacy is divided into the two general classes of evacuants and alteratives; the most efficacious of these latter, commonly called *Specifics*, not working by any visible effects of evacuation, do their business like a charm. Thus, as the general notion of the divine original of medicine made the patient very superstitious *, so the secret operation of alteratives inclined the practiser to the same imbecility. Hence it is that so much of this folly hath overrun the art of medicine in all ages. Now the bestowing the origin of pharmacy in this manner, is abundantly sufficient to prove its high antiquity; for the Ancients gave nothing to the Gods of whose original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed-corn, wine, writing, civil society, &c. there, the Gods seized the property, by that kind of right, which gives strays to the lord of the manor †.

But now the diætetic medicine had a very low original, and a well-known man for its author; a man worth a whole dozen of heathen gods, even the great HIPPOCRATES himself: and this we learn from the surest evidence, his own writings. In his tract *de Veteri Medicina*, he expressly says, that MEDICINE *was established from the most early times* ‡; meaning, as the context shews, *Pharmacy:* but where he speaks soon after in the same tract of the *diætetic medicine* (which he calls τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, as the pharmaceutic above, ἰητρικὴ substantively) he says, *the* ART OF MEDICINE *was neither found out in the most early times, nor sought after* ‖. And in his *de diæta in acutis*, he tells us, *That the ancients* (meaning all who had preceded him) *wrote nothing of diet worthy notice; and that, notwithstanding*

* Diis primum inventores suos assignavit, & cœlo dicavit; necnon & hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. Plin. N. H. l. xxix. Proœm.

† The Rabbins, amongst their other pagan conceits, adopted this; and taught that God himself instructed Adam in the art of medicine; —"Et ductus Adam per omnes Paradisi semitas vidit omne lignum, arbores, plantas, & lapides, & docuit eum Dominus omnem naturam eorum, ad sanandum omnem dolorem & infirmitatem." R. Ebenezra. Which, however, shews their opinion of the high antiquity of the art.

‡ —ἰητρικὴ δὲ πάσῃ πάλαι ὑπάρχει. c. iii.

‖ —τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἂν εὑρέθη τέχνη ἡ ἰητρικὴ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐζητέθη. cap. v.

it

it was a matter of vast moment, they had intirely omitted it, although they were not ignorant of the numerous subdivisions into the species of distempers, nor of the various shapes and appearances of each *. Hence it appears, that, before the time of Hippocrates, the visiting of sick-beds and prescribing medicines were in practice; but that the diætetic medicine, as an art, was intirely unknown: so that had Pliny called Hippocrates the author of this, instead of the founder of the clinic sect, he had come much nearer to the truth.

But without this evidence we might reasonably conclude, even from the nature of the thing, that the *diætetic* was the latest effort of the art of medicine. For, 1. The cure it performs is slow and tedious, and consequently it would not be thought of, at least not employed, till the quick and powerful operation of the pharmaceutic (which is therefore most obvious to use) had been found to be ineffectual. 2. To apply the diætetic medicine, with any degree of safety or success, there is need of a thorough knowledge of the animal economy, and of its many various complexions; with long experience in the nature and qualities of aliments, and their different effects on different habits and constitutions †. But the art of medicine must have made some considerable progress before these acquirements were to be expected in its professors.

If I have been longer than ordinary on this subject, it should be considered, that the clearing up the state of the Egyptian medicine is a matter of importance; for if the practice, in the time of Joseph, was what the Greek

* Ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ περὶ διαίτης οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ξυνέγραψαν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου, καίτοι μέγα τοῦτο παρῆκαν. τὰς μέν τοι πολυφορίας τὰς ἐν ἑκάστοισι τῶν νούσων, καὶ τὴν πολυσχιδίην αὐτέων ἐν ἠγνόουν. Cap. ii.

† Φημὶ δὲ δεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς ξυγγράφειν περὶ διαίτης ἀνθρωπίνης, πρῶτον μὲν πάντος φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γνῶναι καὶ διαφυλάσσειν γνῶναι μὲν, ἀπὸ τίνων ξυνέστηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· διαγνῶναι δὲ, ὑπὸ τίνων μερέων κεκράτηται· εἰ μὴ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ξύστασιν ἐπιγνώσεται, καὶ τὸ ἐπικρατέον ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἐγχωρέοις τ' ἂν εἴη τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ προσενείκειν· ταῦτα μὲν ἂν χρὴ γινώσκειν τὸν ξυγγράφοντα· μέλλει δὲ ταῦτα, σίτων καὶ πολίων ἀπάντων, οἷσι διαιτώμεθα, δύναμιν ἥν τινα ἕκαστα ἴσχει. καὶ τὴν καλὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν δ' ἀνάγκην καὶ τέχνην ἀνθρωπίνην· δεῖ γὰρ ἐπίστασθαι τῶν τε ἰσχυρῶν φύσιν ὡς χρὴ τὴν δύναμιν ἀφαιρέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ ἀσθενέσιν, ὅκως χρὴ ἰσχὺν προσιθέναι διὰ τέχνης, ὅκου ἂν ὁ καιρὸς ἑκάστων παραγένηται. Hippocr. de Diæta, lib. i. cap. 1.

writers

writers represent it, as I think I have shewn it was, then this topic seems absolutely decisive for the high antiquity of Egypt; and the learned person's hypothesis lying in my way, it was incumbent on me to remove it.

IV. We come, in the last place, to the FUNERAL RITES of Egypt; which Herodotus describes in this manner: "Their mournings and rites of sepulture are "of this kind: When any considerable person in the "family dies, all the females of that family besmear "their heads or faces with loam and mire; and so, "leaving the dead body in the hands of the domestics, "march in procession through the city, with their gar-"ments close girt about them, their breasts laid open, "beating themselves; and all their Relations attending. "In an opposite procession appear the males, close "girt likewise, and undergoing the same discipline. "When this is over, they carry the body to be salted: "there are men appointed for this business, who make "it their trade and employment:—They first of all draw "out the brain, with a hooked iron, through the nostrils, "&c.—after this they hide it in nitre for the space of "SEVENTY DAYS, and longer it is not lawful to keep "it salted*." Diodorus agrees with Herodotus in all the essential circumstances of mourning and embalming. In this last he seems to vary in one particular: "They "then anoint the whole body with the gum or resin of "cedar, and of other plants, with great cost and care, "for ABOVE THIRTY DAYS; and afterwards seasoning "it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other spices, not only "proper to preserve the body for a long time, but to "give it a grateful odour, they deliver it to the rela-

* Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφέων, εἰσὶ αἵδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἄνθρωπος, τῇ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσαλο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καπείλα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκηίοισι λιπεῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὗται ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν τροφώμεναι, τύπλοίσι ἐπεζωσμέναι, καὶ φαίνυσαι τὰς μαζούς· ζὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι. ἐτίρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπλοίσι, ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ ἔτοι· ἐπειὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἔτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ καλίαλαι, καὶ τέχνην ἔχυσι ταύτην.—πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδηρῷ διὰ τῶν μυξωλήρων ἐξάγυσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, &c.——ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαλες, ταριχεύσι λίτρῳ κρύψαλες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλείυνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἐξεστι ταριχεύειν. lib. ii. cap. 85, 86.

" tions*," &c. All this operose circumstance of embalming, scripture history confirms and explains; and not only so, but reconciles the seemingly different accounts of the two Greek writers, concerning the number of days, during which the body remained with the embalmers: " And the physicians," says Moses, " em-" balmed Israel; and FORTY DAYS were fulfilled for " him (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are " embalmed) and the Egyptians mourned for him " THREESCORE AND TEN DAYS†." Now we learn from the two Greek historians, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers, which Herodotus tells us was seventy days: this explains why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days. During this time the body lay in nitre; the use of which was to dry up all its superfluous and noxious moisture‡; and when, in the compass of thirty days, this was reasonably well effected, the remaining forty, the ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείας τῶν τριάκοντα of Diodorus, were employed in anointing it with gums and spices to preserve it, which was the proper embalming. And this explains the meaning of *the forty days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed.* Thus the two Greek writers are reconciled; and they and Scripture mutually explained and supported by one another.

But if it should be said, that though MOSES here mentions embalming, yet the practice was not so common as the Greek historians represent it, till many ages after; I reply, that the company of Ishmaelitish merchants with their camels bearing spicery, balm, and myrrh, to carry down into Egypt‖, clearly shews, that embalming was at this time become a general practice.

On the whole, what stronger evidence can any one require of a rich and powerful monarchy, than what

* Καθόλου δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεδρίᾳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιώσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείας τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κιναμώμῳ, καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολὺν χρόνον τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι θεραπεύουσι, παραδιδόασι τοῖς συγγενέσι. Lib. i. Bibl. p. 58.

† Gen. l. 2, 3.

‡ Τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ νίτρον καθαπτήκει. Herodot. p. 119.

‖ Gen. xxxvii. 25.

hath

hath been here given?—Scripture describes Egypt under that condition, in the times of the Patriarchs, and the egression of their posterity: the Greek writers not only subscribe to this high antiquity, but support their testimony by a minute detail of customs and manners then in use, which could belong only to a large and well policied kingdom; and these again are distinctly confirmed by the circumstantial history of MOSES.

But it is not only in what they agree, but likewise in what they differ, that sacred and profane accounts are mutually supported, and the high antiquity of Egypt established. To give one instance: Diodorus expressly tells us, that *the lands were divided between the king, the priests, and the soldiery* *; and MOSES (speaking of the Egyptian famine and its effects) as expressly says, that *they were divided between the king, the priests, and the people* †. Now as contrary as these two accounts look, it will be found, upon comparing them, that Diodorus fully supports all that MOSES hath delivered concerning this matter. MOSES tells us, that before the famine, all the lands of Egypt were in the hands of the king, the priests, and the people; but that this national calamity made a great revolution in property, and brought the whole possessions of the people into the king's hands; which must needs make a prodigious accession of power to the crown. But Joseph, in whom the offices of minister and patriot supported each other, and jointly concurred to the public service ‡, prevented for some time the ill effects of this accession, by his farming out the new domain to the old proprietors, on very easy conditions. We may well suppose this wise disposition to continue till that *new king arose, who knew not Joseph* ||; that is, would obliterate his memory, as averse to his system of policy ¶. He, as appears from Scripture, greatly affected a despotic government; to support

* L. i. Bibl. † Gen. xlvii.

‡ See note [N] at the end of this Book. || Exod. i. 8.

¶ In this sense is the phrase frequently used in Scripture, as Judges ii. 10.—"And there arose another generation after them, "which *knew not* the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done "for Israel."—Here, *knew not*, can only signify *despised, set at nought*.

which, he first established, as I collect, a standing militia; and endowed it with the lands formerly the people's; who now became a kind of Villains to this order, which resembled the Zaims and Timariots of the Turkish empire; and were obliged to personal service: this, and the priesthood, being the orders of nobility in this powerful empire; and so considerable they were, that out of either of them, indifferently, as we observed before, their kings were taken and elected. Thus the property of Egypt became at length divided in the manner, the Sicilian relates: and it is remarkable, that from this time, and not till now, we hear in Scripture of a standing militia*, and of the king's six hundred chosen chariots, &c.

SECT. IV.

HAVING thus proved the high antiquity of Egypt from the concurrent testimony of sacred and profane history; I go on, as I proposed, to evince the same from internal evidence; taken from the original use of their so much celebrated HIEROGLYPHICS.

But to give this argument its due force, it will be necessary to trace up hieroglyphic writing to its original; which a general mistake concerning its primeval use hath rendered extremely difficult. The mistake I mean, is that which makes the hieroglyphics to be invented by the Egyptian priests, in order to hide and secrete their wisdom from the knowledge of the vulgar†: a mistake which hath involved this part of ancient learning in much obscurity and confusion.

I.

Men soon found out two ways of communicating their thoughts to one another; the first by SOUNDS, and the second by FIGURES: for there being frequent occasion to have their conceptions either perpetuated, or communicated at a distance, the way of figures or characters was next thought upon, after sounds (which were momentary and confined), to make their conceptions lasting and extensive.

* Exod. xiv. 8, 9.

† See note [O] at the end of this Book.

The

The first and most natural way of communicating our thoughts by marks or figures, is by tracing out the images of things. So the early people, to express the idea of a man or horse, delineated the form of those animals. Thus the first essay towards writing was a mere picture.

I. We see an example of this amongst the MEXICANS, whose only method of recording their laws and history, was by a picture-writing *. Joseph Acosta tells us, that, when the inhabitants of the sea shore sent expresses to Montezuma with news of the first appearance of the Spanish navy on their coasts, the advices were delineated in large paintings, upon cloth †. The same writer gives us, in another place, a more particular account of this sort of painting: "One of our company of Jesus (says "he) a man of much experience, and discernment, as-"sembled in the province of Mexico the Ancients of "Tuscuco, Tulla, and Mexico; who, in a long con-"ference held with him, shewed him their records, his-"tories, and calendars; things very worthy notice, as "containing their figures and hieroglyphics, by which "they painted their conceptions in the following manner: "things that have a bodily shape were represented by "their proper figures; and those which have none, by "other significative characters: and thus they writ or "painted every thing they had occasion to express.— "For my own satisfaction I had the curiosity to inspect "a paternoster, an avemaria, the creed, and a general

* In diffetto di lettere usarono gl' ingegnosi Mexicani figure, e *Geroglifici*, per significar le cose corporee, che han figura; e per lo rimanente, altri caratteri propri: e in tal modo segnavano, a prò della posterità, tutte le cose accadute. Per ragion d' esempio per significare l' entrata degli Spagnuoli dipinsero un' uomo col cappello, e colla veste rossa, nel segno di Canna ch' era proprio di quell' anno. Giro del Mondo del Dottor D. Gio Fr. Gemelli Careri, tom. sesto. Arº. Nuova Spagna. cap. vi. p. 37.

† —Quando era caso de importancia lleuauana a los Señores de Mexico pintado el negocio de que les querian informar; como lo hizieron quando aparecieron los primeros navios de Españoles, y quando fueron a tomar a Toponchan. Acosta's Hist. of the Indies, Madr. 1608. 4to. lib. vi. cap. 10.—Con este recado fueron a Mexico los de la costa lleuando pintado en unos panos todo quanto auian visto, y los navios, y hombres, y su figura, y juntamente las piedras que les auien dado. Lib. vii. cap. 24.

" confession *, written in this manner by the Indians:
" —To signify these words, *I a sinner confess myself*,
" they painted an Indian on his knees before a religious in
" the act of one confessing; and then for this, *To God*
" *almighty*, they painted three faces adorned with
" crowns, representing the Trinity; and, *To the glo-*
" *rious virgin Mary*, they delineated the visage of our
" Lady, with half a body, and the infant in her arms;
" *To St. Peter and St. Paul*, two heads irradiated,
" together with the keys and sword, &c.—In Peru I
" have seen an Indian bring to the confessional a con-
" fession of all his sins written in the same way, by pic-
" ture and characters; portraying every one of the ten
" commandments after a certain manner †."

There is yet extant a very curious specimen of this American picture-writing, made by a Mexican author: and deciphered by him in that language, after the Spaniards had taught him letters; the explanation was afterwards translated into Spanish, and, from thence, into English. Purchas has given us this work engraved, and the explanations annexed. The manner of its coming into his

* *Acosta's* words are,——*y symbolo y la confession general*; which Purchas has translated,—*and symbol or general confession of our faith.* This is wrong: by *la confession general* is meant a general confession of sins, a formulary very different from the *creed.*

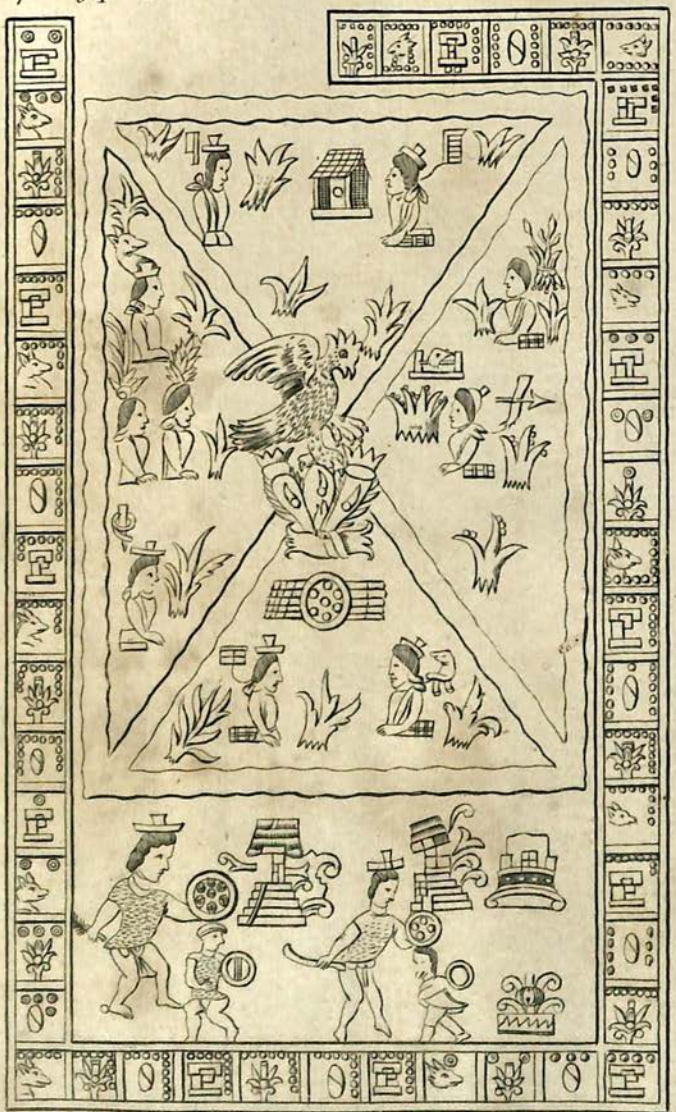
† Una de los de nuestra Compañia de Jesus, hombre muy platico y diestro, junto en la provincia de Mexico a los Ancianos de Tuscuco, y de Tulla, y de Mexico, y confirio mucho con ollos, y le monstraron sus Librerias, y sus Historias, y Kalendarios, cosa mucho de Ver. Porque tenian sur figuras, y Hieroglyficas con que pintauam los cosas en esta forma, que los cosas que tenian figuras, las ponian con sus proprias Ymagines, y para las cosas que no auia Ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significatiuos de acquello, y con este modo figurauam quanto queriam—e yo he visto para satisfazerme en esta parte, las Oraciones del Pater Noster, y Ave Maria, y Symbolo, y la Confession general, en el modo dicho de Indios.——Para significar Aquella palabra, *Yo pecador me confiesso*, pintan un Indio hincado de rodillas a los pies de un Religioso; como que se confiessa; y luego para aquella, *A Dios todo poderoso*, pintan tres caras con sus coronas, al modo de la Trinidad; y *a la gloriosa Virgen Maria*, pintan un rostro de nuestra Señora, y medio cuerpo con un Niño; y *a San Pedro y a San Pablo*, dos cabeças con coronas, y unas llaues, y una espada.—Por la misma forma de pinturas y caracteres vi en el Piru escrite la confession que de todos sus pecados un Indio traya para confessarse. Pindando cada uno de los diez mandamientos por cierto modo.—Lib. vi. cap. 7.

hands

ASIATIC SOCIETY

facing p. 119. vol. IV.

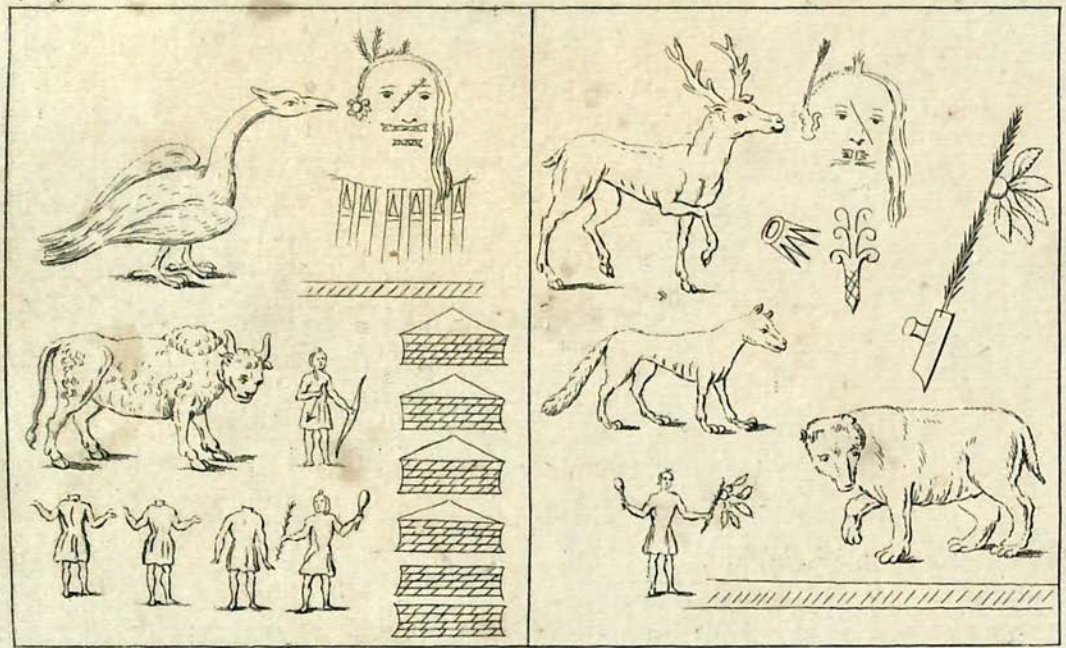
PLATE. I.



A Mexican Picture History of the 51 years Reign of their Monarch Tenuch. From Purchas.

J. Mynde sc.

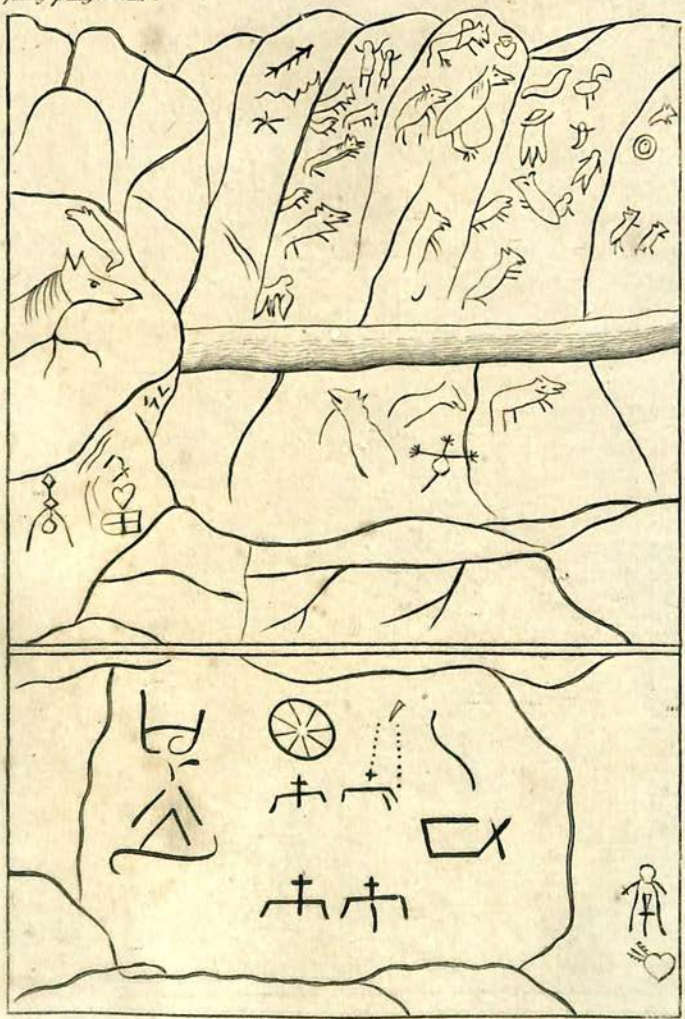
PLATE II.



From Lafiteau.

J. Mynde sc.

PLATE III.



From Stahlenberg.

T. Mynde sc.

hands is curious *. It is in three parts; the first is a history of the Mexican empire; the second, a tribute-roll of the several tributes which each conquered town or province paid into the royal treasury; and the third, a digest of their civil law, the largest branch of which was, *de jure patrio.*

This was the first, and most simple way of recording their conceptions †; obvious to every one, and common not only to the North as well as South Americans, but to all mankind ‡.

* "Reader, I here present thee with the choicest of my jewels, "&c.——a politic, ethic, ecclesiastic, economic history, with just "distinction of time.—The Spanish governor having, with some difficulty, obtained the book of the Indians, with Mexican interpre"tations of the pictures (but ten days before the departure of the "ships) committed the same to one skilful in the Mexican language, "to be interpreted; who in a very plain style, and verbatim, per"formed the same. This history thus written, sent to Charles V. "emperor, was, together with the ship that carried it, taken by "French men of war; from whom Andrew Thevet, the French "king's geographer, obtained the same. After whose death master "Hakluyt (then chaplaine to the English embassadour in France) "bought the same for twenty French crowns; and procured master "Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh's name, to translate it. "It seems that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the "pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death: "whereby (according to his last will in that kind) I became pos"sessour thereof, and have obtained, with much earnestness, the "cutting thereof for the press." Purchas's Pilgr. 3d part, p. 1065, 1066. [See Plate I.]

† Quant aux caracteres, ils n'en avoient point: et ils y suppleoient par des especes d'hieroglyphes. Charlevoix of the Northern Americans, vol. v. p. 292. Lafitau gives us a specimen of these hieroglyphics. [See Plate II.]

‡ The same kind of characters Stahlenberg found upon rocks in Siberia in the province of Permia, and near the river Jenesei. Of which he has given a drawing. [See Plate III.] The author De vet. lit. Hunn. Scyth. p. 15. seems to admire this natural expression of things, as some uncommon stretch of invention. "Miratus "ego sæpe fui caupones idiotas (nempe in Hungaria) istis, quibus "aliquid credere hujusmodi ficto charactere inter debitores non "adscribere tantum, sed longioris etiam temporis intervallo post, "non secus, quam si alphabethario scribendi genere adnotati fuis"sent, promere, debitamque summam & rationes indicare potuisse; "ita si debitor miles est, rudi quadam linea frameam aut pugionem "pingebant; si faber, malleum aut securim: si auriga, flagrum, "atque sic porro."

II.

But the inconveniencies attending the too great bulk of the volume in writings of this kind, would soon set the more ingenious and better civilized people upon contriving methods to abridge their characters: and of all the improvements of this kind, that which was invented by the EGYPTIANS, and called HIEROGLYPHICS, was by far the most celebrated. By this contrivance, that writing, which amongst the Mexicans was only a simple painting, became in Egypt a pictured character*...

This abridgment was of three kinds; and, as appears from the more or less art employed in the contrivance of each, made by due degrees; and at three different periods.

1. The first way was, *To make the principal circumstance in the subject stand for the whole.* Thus when they would describe a battle, or two armies in array, they painted (as we learn from that admirable fragment of antiquity, the hieroglyphics of Horapollo) *two hands, one holding a shield, and the other a bow* †; when a tumult, or popular insurrection,—*an armed man casting arrows* ‡; when a siege,—a *scaling ladder* ‖. This was of the utmost simplicity; and, consequently, we must suppose it the earliest way of turning painting into an hieroglyphic; that is, making it a picture-character. And this is what we shall hereafter distinguish by the name of the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

2. The second, and more artful method of contraction, was by putting the instrument of the thing, whether real or metaphorical, for the thing itself. Thus an *eye*, eminently placed, was designed to represent God's omniscience ¶; an *eye and sceptre*, to represent a monarch **; a *sword*, their cruel tyrant Ochus ††: and a *ship and pilot*, the governor of the universe ‡‡. And this is what we shall call the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC.

* See Plate IV.

† Horapoll. Hierogl. lib. ii. cap. 5. Ed. Corn. De Pauw, Traj. ad Rhen. 1727. 4to.

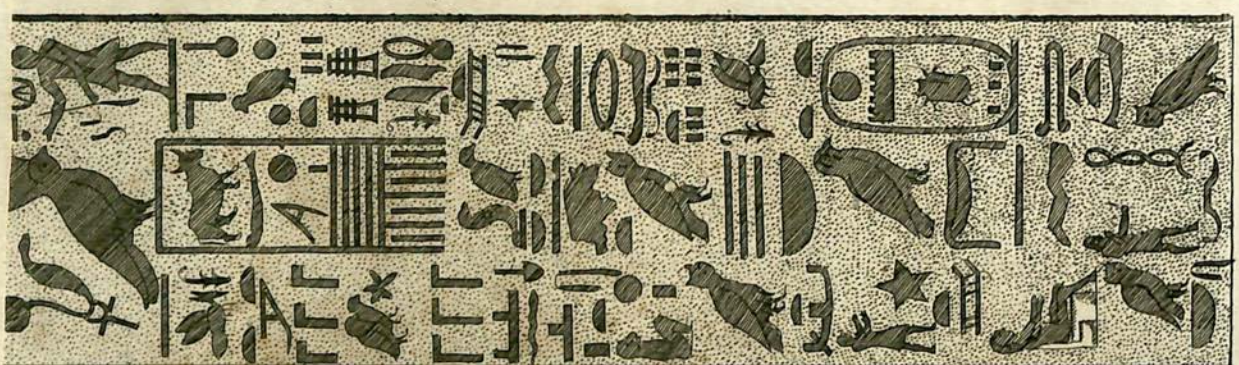
‡ Id. l. ii. c. 12. ‖ Id. l. ii. c. 28.

¶ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. ** Plutarch. Is. & Osir. †† Id. ib.

‡‡ Jamblichus. See note [P] at the end of this Book.

3. Their

North Side of the Rameſsean Obelisc. From Kircher.



J. Mynde ſc.

3. Their third, and still more artificial method of abridging picture-writing, was, *by making one thing to stand for, or represent another, where any quaint resemblance or analogy, in the representative, could be collected from their observations of nature, or their traditional superstitions.* And this was their SYMBOLIC HIEROGLYPHIC.

Sometimes it was founded in their observations on the form, or on the real or imaginary natures and qualities, of Beings. Thus the universe was designed by a *serpent in a circle*, whose variegated spots signified the stars *; and the sun-rise by the *two eyes of the crocodile*, because they seem to emerge from its head †; a widow who never admits a second mate, by a *black pigeon* ‡; one dead of a fever, contracted by the over great solar heat, by a *blind scarabæus* ‖; a client flying for relief to his patron, and finding none, by a *sparrow and owl* ¶; a king inexorable, and estranged from his people, by an *eagle* **; a man who exposes his children through poverty, by an *hawk* ††; a wife who hates her husband, or children who injure their mother, by a *viper* ‡‡; one initiated into the mysteries, and so under the obligation of secrecy, by a *grashopper* ‖‖, which was thought to have no mouth.

Sometimes again, this kind of hieroglyphic was derived from the popular superstition. Thus he who had borne his misfortunes with courage, and had at length surmounted them, was signified by the *hyæna* ¶¶, because the skin of that animal, used as a defence in battle, was supposed to make the wearer fearless and invulnerable.

But it is not from analogy alone (the force of which will be seen more fully as we proceed), nor yet from the nature of the thing only (which in these enquiries is indeed the safest guide), that we conclude the hieroglyphics now described to be an improvement of an earlier picture-writing used by the Egyptians, and re-

* Horap. Hierogl. l. i. c. 2. † L. i. c. 68. ‡ L. ii. c. 32.
‖ L. ii. c. 41. ¶ L. ii. c. 51. ** L. ii. c. 56.
†† L. ii. c. 99. ‡‡ L. ii. c. 59 & 60. ‖‖ L. ii. c. 55.
¶¶ L. ii. c. 72.

sembling

sembling that of the Americans. Ancient history records the fact. We are told, in that exquisite fragment of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Eusebius, that "the God "Taautus, having imitated Ouranus's art of picture-"writing *, drew the portraits of the Gods Cronus, "Dagon, and the rest, and delineated the sacred cha-"racters which formed the elements of this kind of wri-"ting †: for Cronus, particularly, he imagined these "symbols of royalty, four eyes, two before, and two "behind; of which, two were closed in slumber; and "on his shoulders four wings, two stretched out, as in "the act of flight, and two contracted, as in repose. "The first symbol signified that Cronus watched though "he reposed, and reposed though he watched; the "second symbol of the wings signified, in like manner, "that even when stationed he flew about, and, when "flying, he yet remained stationed. To each of the "other Gods he gave two wings on their shoulders ‡, as "the Satellites of Cronus in his excursions; who had "likewise two wings on his head, to denote the two "principles of the mind, *reason* and *passion* ||." Here we see that Ouranus practised a kind of picture-writing, which Taautus afterwards improved: Taautus, or Thoth, was the Egyptian Mercury; on which name and family all the inventions of the various kinds of writing were

* The original is, Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Τάαυτ@ μιμησάμεν@ τὸν Οὐρανὸν, which Vigerus thus translates, *Taautus vero Deus cum jam ante cœli imaginem effinxisset*; and Cumberland, *But before these things the god Taautus having formerly imitated or represented Ouranus*:—This is wrong, μιμησάμεν@ τὸν Οὐρανὸν signifies here, imitating the art, or practice, or example of Ouranus; not painting his figure. So Plutarch de Fort. Alex. Ἡρακλέα ΜΙΜΟΥΜΑΙ καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ.

† See note [Q] at the end of this Book.

‡ Conformably to this account, the Etruscans and Greeks occasionally gave wings to the Images of all their Deities.

|| Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Τάαυτ@ μιμησάμεν@ τὸν Οὐρανὸν, τῶν θεῶν ἄψεις. Κρόνου τε καὶ Δαγῶν@, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διείλυπωσε τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας· ἐπινόησε δὲ καὶ τῷ Κρόνῳ παράσημα βασιλείας, ὄμματα τέσσαρα ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν· δύο δὲ ἡσυχῇ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερὰ τέσσαρα· δύο μὲν ὡς ἐπτάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφιέμενα. τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἦν, ἐπειδὴ Κρόν@ κοιμώμεν@ ἐθλεπε, καὶ ἐγρηγορὼς ἐκοιμᾶτο· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἀναπαυόμεν@ ἵπτατο, καὶ ἱπτάμεν@ ἀνεπαύετο· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἑκάστῳ πτερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, ὡς ὅτι δὴ συνίπτατο τῷ Κρόνῳ. καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὰ δύο· ἓν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ νῷ, καὶ ἓν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

very

very liberally bestowed: this, here mentioned, as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above described: and that, as before practised by Ouranus, the same with the simple American paintings.

Such then was the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and this the second mode of invention for recording men's actions and conceptions; not, as hath been hitherto thought, a device of choice for secrecy, but an expedient of necessity, for popular use.

III.

But the obscurity which attended the scantiness of hieroglyphic characters, joined to the enormous bulk of picture volumes, set men upon contriving a third change in this kind of writing: of which the CHINESE have given us a famous example.

We have just observed, that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic was an improvement on a yet more ancient manner, resembling the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans; and that it joined contracted and arbitrarily instituted marks to images. The CHINESE writing at length went still further; it threw out the images, and retained only the marks; which they increased to a prodigious number. In this writing, every distinct idea has its proper mark; and is, like every real character, whether formed by *analogy* or *institution*, common to divers neighbouring nations, of different languages†.

The

* See note [R] at the end of this Book.

† —pero lo que se escrive en elia, en todas las lenguas se entiende, porque aunque las Provincias no se entienden de palabra unaes a otras, mas por escrito si, porque las letras o figuras son unas mismas para todos, y significan lo mismo, mas no tinen el mismo nombre ni prolacion, porque como he dicho son para denotar cosas y no palabras, assi como en el exemplo de los numeros de guarismo que puse, se puede facilmente entender. De aqui tambien procede, que siendo los Japones y Chinas, Naciones y lenguas tam differentes leen y entendien los unos las escrituras de los otros; y si hablas sen lo que leen, o escriven, poco ni mucho no se entenderian. Estas pues son las letras y libros que usan los Chinos tan afamados en el mundo, &c. Acosta, lib. vi. cap. 5.

Les Caracteres de la Cochinchine, du Tongking, du Japon sont les mêmes que ceux de la Chine, & signifient les mêmes choses, sans toutefois que ces Peuples en parlant, s'expriment de la même sorte. Ainsi quoique les langues soint très-differentes, & qu'ils ne puissent pas

The shapes and figures of several of these marks, however now disguised, do yet betray their original to be from picture and images; as the reader may perceive, by casting his eye on the specimen given us by Kircher*: for, that it is only a more contracted and refined hieroglyphic, we have the concurrent testimony of the best writers on the arts and manners of this famous people; who inform us how their present writing was deduced, through an earlier hieroglyphic, from the first simple way of painting the human conceptions †.

But

pas s'entendre les uns les autres en parlant; ils s'entendent fort bien en s'ecrivant, & tous leurs Livres sont communs. Ces Caracteres sont en cela comme des Chiffres d'arithmetique: plusieurs Nations s'en servent: on leur donne differens noms; mais ils signifient par tout la même chose—l'on compte jusqu'à quatre vingt mille de ces Caracteres. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 226. fol. ed.

* China Illustrata, p. 227. & Œdipi Ægyptiaci Theatrum Hieroglyphicum, p. 12. [See Plate V.]

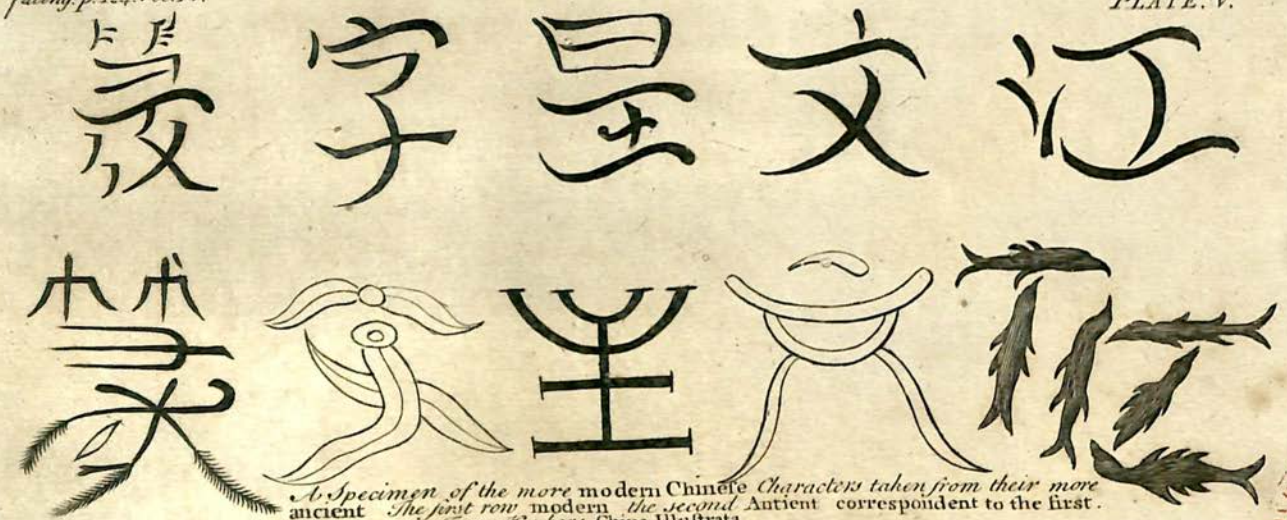
† Primò siquidem ex omnibus rebus mundialibus primos *Sinas* characteres suos construxisse, tum ex Chronicis ipsorum patet, tum ipsa characterum forma sat superque demonstrat; siquidem non secus ac *Ægyptii* ex animalibus, volucribus, reptilibus, piscibus, herbis, arborumque ramis, funiculis, filis, punctis, circulis, similibusque characteres suos, aliâ tamen & aliâ ratione dispositos formabant. Posteriores verò *Sinæ* rerum experientia doctiores, cum magnâm in tanta animalium plantarumque congerie confusionem viderent, characteres hujusmodi variè figuratos, certis punctorum linearumque ductibus æmulati, in breviorem methodum concinnârunt, quâ & in hunc usque diem utuntur.—Porro litteras *Sinæ* nulla ratione in Alphabeti morem, uti cæteris nationibus consuetum est, dispositas, neque voces ex literis & syllabis compositas habent, sed singuli characteres singulis vocibus & nominibus respondent; adeoque tot characteribus opus habent, quos res sunt, quas per conceptum mentis exponere volunt. Kircheri China Illustrata, p. 226.

Au lieu d'Alphabet ils se sont servis au commencement de leur Monarchie, de *Hieroglyphes*. Ils en peint au lieu d'ecrire; & par les images naturelles des choses qu'ils formoient sur le papier ils tâchoient d'exprimer & de communiquer aux autres leurs idées. Ainsi pour écrire un oiseau, ils en peignoient la figure; & pour signifier un forest, ils representoient plusieurs arbres; un cercle vouloit dire le Soleil, & un croissant la Lune. Cette maniere d'ecrire estoit non seulement imparfaite, mais encore très incommode.—Ainsi les Chinois changerent peu à peu leur ecriture, et composerent des figures plus simples, quoique moins naturelles, &c.—*Le Comte, Nouv. Memoires sur l'Etat Present de la Chine*, Tome prem. p. 256. Amst. 1698. 12°.

Des le commencement de leur Monarchie, ils communiquoient leurs idées, en formant sur la papier les images naturelles des choses qu'ils

facing p. 124. Vol. IV.

PLATE. V.



A Specimen of the more modern Chinese *Characters taken from their more* ancient *The first row* modern *the second* Antient correspondent to the first.
From Kirchers China Illustrata.

J. Mynde sc.

But it may be worth our while to consider more particularly, the origine and introduction of these ARBITRARY MARKS; the last advance of hieroglyphics towards *alphabetic writing*. We may observe, that substances, and all visible objects, were at first very naturally expressed by the images of the things themselves; as moral modes and other ideal conceptions of the mind were more aptly represented by marks of arbitrary institution: for it required variety of knowledge, and quickness of fancy, to design these latter ideas by analogic or symbolic figures; which therefore can be supposed no other than an after-thought of a people more than ordinary ingenious, as the Egyptians, and who, aiming to set a price upon their ingenuity, made their meaning mysterious and profound.

We shall see presently, that as all nations, in their ruder state, had hieroglyphic images or analogic or symbolic figures for marking things; so had they likewise simple characters or notes of arbitrary institution, for *mental conceptions*. But, commonly, that sort only

qu'ils vouloient exprimer: ils peignoient, par exemple, un oiseau, des montagnes, des arbres, des lignes ondoyantes, pour exprimer des oiseaux, des montagnes, un forêt, et des rivieres. Cette maniere d'expliquer sa pensée étoit fort imparfaite, et demandoit plusieurs volumes pour exprimer assez peu des choses. D'ailleurs il y avoit une infinité d'objets, qui ne pouvoient être representez par la peinture.—C'est pourquoi insensiblement ils changerent leur ancienne maniere d'ecrire: ils composerent des figures plus simples, et en inventerent plusieurs autres, pour exprimer les objets, qui ne tombent point sous les sens. Mais ces caracteres plus modernes ne laissent pas d'être encore de vrais Hieroglifes. Premierement parce qu'ils sont composez de lettres simples, qui retiennent la même signification des caracteres primitifs: Autrefois, par exemple, ils representoient ainsi le Soleil par un cercle ⊙ et l'appelloient *Gé*; ils le representent maintenant, par cette figure ☰, qu'ils nomment pareillement *Gé*. Secondement, parce que l'institution des hommes a attaché à ces figures la même idée, que ces premiers Symboles presentoient naturellement, et qu'il n'y a aucune lettre Chinoise qui n'ait sa propre signification, lorsqu'on la joint avec d'autres. *Tsai*, par exemple, qui veut dire, *malheur, calamité*, est composé de la lettre *mien*, qui signifie *maison*, et de la lettre *ho*, qui signifie *feu*, parce que le plus grand malheur est devoir sa maison en feu. On peut juger par ce seul exemple, que les caracteres Chinois n'étant pas des lettres simples, comme les nôtres, qui separement ne signifient rien, et n'ont de sens que quand elles sont jointes ensemble; ce sont autant de Hieroglifes, qui forment des images, et qui expriment les pensées. Du Halde, tom. ii. p. 227.

which

which they most cultivated, or for which they were principally famous, happened to be transmitted to posterity. Thus the Mexicans are remembered for their hieroglyphic paintings only; and the Peruvians for their knotted cords. But we are not therefore to conclude that the Mexican writing had no arbitrary marks *, or that the Peruvians had no hieroglyphic paintings †. Real characters of both kinds had, at different periods, been cultivated in China, if we may credit the concurrent relations of the Missionaries. In ancient Egypt, indeed, where hieroglyphic figures were so successfully cultivated as to give that general name to real characters, the use of marks by institution is more obscurely noticed. And for this, a reason will be assigned. Martinus Martinius, in his History of China, tells us ‡, they had two sorts of characters; the one, marks by institution, which had been substituted instead of knotted cords, once in use amongst them (as in Peru), but much more intricate than the Peruvian knots: their other characters were figures resembling the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and representing the *things* they were designed to express. Now as the Chinese improved in arts and empire, it is natural to suppose they would much increase their marks by institution. The growing number of these characters, the sciences to which they were applied, and their commodious and expeditious use, would tempt them even to change their analogic figures into marks by institution, till their whole writing became of this sort. It is now such: and that the change was produced in the manner here represented, we may collect from the words and scheme of Martinius on the other side ||.

* Joseph Acosta (as we see above) expressly says, that "the "Mexicans represented those things, which had bodily shape, by "their proper figures, and *those which had none, by other significative "characters:*"—las cosas que tenian figuras las ponian con sus proprias ymagines; y para las cosas que no avia ymagen propria tenian otros caracteres significativos de aquello.

† The same Acosta says expressly, that, besides their *quippos* or strings variously knotted and coloured, they had paintings like the Mexicans. L. vi. c. 8.

‡ Idem imperator [Fo-hi] Sinicos characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit, sed ipsis nodis intricatiores. Sin. hist. l. i.

|| See Plate VI.

But

But to all this it may be said, How then came it to pass, that Egypt, which had the same imperial fortune in a long flourishing dominion, should be so far from changing their analogic figures into arbitrary marks, that their arbitrary marks were almost lost and absorbed in analogic figures? For such arbitrary marks they had, as we may collect from their monuments, where we find them intermixed with proper hieroglyphics; and from Apuleius, where we see them described in his account of the sacred book or ritual of the mysteries of Isis. "De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes; partim NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, capreolatimque condensis apicibus, a curiositate profanorum lectione munita:" the very same species of writing with that of the Chinese, described by Martinius, and almost in the same words: "Fohius characteres reperit, quos loco nodorum adhibuit; sed ipsis nodis intricatiores."

Now this opposite progress in the issue of hieroglyphic writing, in Egypt and China, may, I think, be easily accounted for by the different genius of the two people. The Egyptians were extremely inventive; and, what is often a consequence of that humour (though here other things contributed to promote it), much given to secrecy and mysterious conveyance: while the Chinese are known to be the least inventive people upon earth; and not much given to mystery. This difference in the genius of the two nations would make all the difference in the progress of hieroglyphic writing amongst them. I have observed that the easiest, and most natural expression of the abstract conceptions of the mind, was by arbitrary marks: but yet the most ingenious way of representing them was by analogic or symbolic figures; as omniscience, by an *eye*; ingratitude, by a *viper*; impudence, by the *river-horse*. Now the Egyptians, who were of a lively imagination, and studious of natural knowledge, though at first, like the Chinese, they expressed mental ideas by arbitrary marks, yet, as they improved their inventive faculties by use, they fell naturally into this method of expressing them by ana-

logic

logic or symbolic figures; and their love of mystery disposed them to cultivate it: for these figures necessarily make the Character mysterious, as implying in the Inventor, and requiring in the User, a knowledge of physics; whereas arbitrary marks lie open to all, as requiring no knowledge but that of the institution. Hence we have a plain reason how it happened, that the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, from very early times, consisted principally of symbolic and analogic marks, and that those Chinese Hieroglyphics were turned altogether into marks; by institution. For as the Egyptians had soon learnt to express abstract ideas by analogic signs, so the Chinese were at last drawn to express even material things by arbitrary marks.

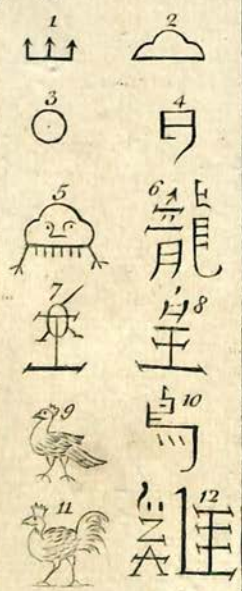
In a word, the Chinese method of thus conducting hieroglyphic writing through all its changes and improvements, from a picture to a simple mark, was the occasion that the Missionaries, who considered the history of their *writing* only by parts, have given us such different accounts of it. Sometimes they represent it like the Mexican pictures; sometimes like the knotted cords of the Peruvians; sometimes as approaching to the characters found upon the Egyptian obelisks; and sometimes again as of the nature of the Arabic marks for numbers. But each man speaks only of the monuments of which he himself had got information; and these differed according to their age and place. He, whose attention was taken up with the most ancient only of the Chinese monuments, did not hesitate to pronounce them hieroglyphics, like the Egyptian; because he saw them to be analogic or symbolic signs, like the Egyptian; he who considered only the characters of later use denied them to be like the Egyptian, because he found them to be only marks by institution.

These imperfect accounts have misled the learned into several mistakes concerning the general nature and use of Hieroglyphics themselves. Some supposing it of their nature to be *obvious marks* of institution; and others, that it required a very *comprehensive knowledge* of physics to be able to compose them.

M. Freret, speaking of the Chinese characters, says, "Selon eux [les Chinois] ces anciens caractéres etoient

"tous

facing p. 126. vol. IV.



From Martinius Martinius.

PLATE VI.

Hæc litera, 1. quæ montem significat, olim ita, 2. pingebatur. Sic solem eo modo exprimebant, quo Mathematicis hodie circulo medioque puncto, 3. describitur; nunc ista forma 4. effingunt. Draconis hæc 5. olim figura erat; hodie ita 6. formatur. Regis litera, seu nomen sceptrum cum oculo, 7. referebat; nunc ita, 8. pingunt. Volucrem, gallinam, vel gallum, sua hoc est, nativa specie, 9. 11. repræsentabant; nunc his ductibus, 10. 12. explicantur. Habeo penes me librum literis Sinicis ad sex diversos modos conscriptum, opus antiquissimum & rarum, Sinis ob vetustatem raritatemque magno semper in pretio habitum. In eo libro antiquæ literæ formam utcunque referunt earum, quas Romæ in obeliscis sæpe me videre memini.

J. Mynde sc.

" tous fondés sur des raisons philosophiques. Ils ex-
" primoient la nature des choses qu'ils signifioient: ou
" du moins la determinoient en désignant les rapports
" de ces mêmes choses avec d'autres mieux connues*."
But he doubts whether entire credit is to be given to their accounts; for he observes, that " La construction
" d'une pareille langue demande une parfaite connois-
" sance de la nature et de l'ordre des idées qu'il faut
" exprimer, c'est-à-dire, *une bonne metaphysique*, et,
" peut-être même *une systeme complet de philosophie*.—
" Les Chinois n'ont jamais eu rien de pareil." He concludes, therefore, that the Chinese Hieroglyphics " n'ont jamais eu qu'en rapport d'INSTITUTION avec
" les choses qu'elles signifient." This is strange reasoning. To know whether the ancient Chinese characters were founded on philosophic relations, does not depend on their having a true system of physics and metaphysics, but on their having a system simply, whether true or false, to which to adapt those Characters: Thus, that part of the Egyptian physics which taught, that the viper tore its way through its mother's entrails, and that the skin of the hyæna preserved the wearer invulnerable, served full as well for hieroglyphical uses, as the soundest part of their astronomy, which placed the sun in the center of its system.

Again, others have denied the Chinese characters to be properly Hieroglyphics, because they are arbitrary marks and not analogical. P. Parennin says, " Les
" caracteres Chinois ne sont hieroglyphes qu'impropre-
" ment.——Ce sont des signes *arbitraires* qui nous
" donnent l'idée d'une chose, non par aucun rapport
" qu'ils aient avec la chose signifiée, mais parce qu'on
" a voulu par tel signe signifier telle chose.—En est-il
" de même des hieroglyphes Egyptiens?" P. Gaubil says,—" On voit l'importance d'une histoire critique
" sur l'origine et les changemens arrivés à plusieurs
" caractéres Chinois qui sont certainement hieroglyphes.
" D'un autre côté, il y a des caractéres Chinois, qui
" *certainement ne sont pas hieroglyphes*. Une histoire
" de ceux-ci seroit aussi importante." These Fathers, we see, suppose it essential to hieroglyphic characters,

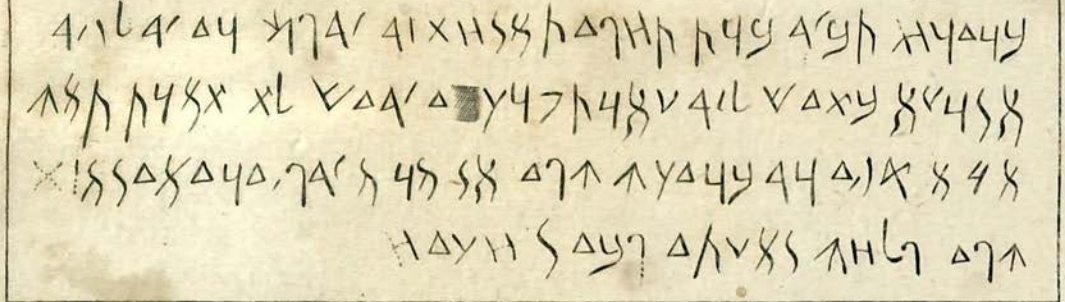
* Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. p. 609.

that they be analogic or symbolic signs; and finding the more modern Chinese writing to be chiefly composed of arbitrary marks, or signs by institution, they concluded that the Chinese characters were not properly Hieroglyphics. Whereas, what truly denotes a writing to be hieroglyphical is, that its marks are signs for THINGS; what denotes a writing not to be hieroglyphical, is that, its marks are signs for WORDS. Whether the marks be formed by *analogy* or *institution*, makes no alteration in the nature of the *writing*. If they be signs for *things*, they can be nothing but hieroglyphics; if they be signs for *words*, they may be, and I suppose always are, alphabetic characters; but never can be hieroglyphics. However, it is but justice to these learned Fathers to observe, that one of them, from whom the others might have profited, appears to have a much clearer conception of this matter.—"*La nature des hieroglyphes* " (says he) n'est pas d'être des figures naturelles des " choses qu'ils signifient, mais seulement de les repre- " senter ou naturellement, ou par l'institution des " hommes. Or tous les lettres Chinoises, ou sont des " figures naturelles, comme les anciennes, du soleil, de " la lune, ou autres semblables, ou sont des figures " destinées pour signifier quelque chose, comme sont " toutes celles qui signifient des choses qui n'ont aucune " figure; comme l'ame, la beauté, les vertus, les vices, " et toutes les actions des hommes et des animaux *."

On the whole, therefore, we see that, before the institution of letters to express SOUNDS, all characters denoted only THINGS; 1. By *representation*. 2. By *analogy* or *symbols*. 3. By *arbitrary institution*.—Amongst the Mexicans, the first method was principally in use: The Egyptians chiefly cultivated the second: And the Chinese, in course of time, reduced almost all their characters to the third. But the empires of China and Egypt long flourishing in their different periods, had time and inclination to cultivate all the three species of hieroglyphic writing: only with this difference; the Egyptians beginning, like the Mexicans, with a picture, and being ingenious and much given to mystery, cultivated a species of hieroglyphics most

* P. Magaillans, Relat. de la Chine.

abounding



N°. III.

Hieroglyphics.	Letters.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.	H	5.	Δ
2.	⅂	6.	⅃
3.	X	7.	4
4.	Λ		

PLATE VII.

Hieroglyphics.	Letters. Nº I.	Hieroglyphics.	Letters.
1.		12.	
2.		13	
3.		14.	
4.		15.	
5.		16.	
6.		17.	
7.		18.	
8.		19.	
9.		20.	
10.		21.	
11.		22	

From M. the Count Caylus

J. Mynde sc.

abounding in signs by analogy, or symbols; whereas the Chinese, who set out like the Peruvians with a knotted cord *, and were less inventive, and without a secret worship, cultivated that species which most abounds in marks of arbitrary institution †.

In a word, all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters, made use of Hieroglyphics, or signs for things, to record their meaning: the more gross, by *representation*; the more subtile and civilized, by *analogy* and *institution*.

Thus we have brought down the general history of Writing, by a gradual and easy descent, from a PICTURE to a LETTER; for Chinese marks which participate of Egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, and of alphabetic letters on the other (just as those hieroglyphics partook equally of Mexican pictures and Chinese characters) are on the very border of letters; an ALPHABET invented to express *sounds* instead of *things* being only a compendium of that large volume of arbitrary marks.

Some alphabets, as the Ethiopic and Coptic ‡, have taken in hieroglyphic figures to compose their letters; which appears both from their shapes and names. The ancient Egyptian did the same, as a learned French Writer hath shewn in a very ingenious and convincing manner ‖. But this is seen even from the names which express letters and literary-writing in the ancient languages: thus the Greek words ΣΗΜΕΙΑ and ΣΗΜΑΤΑ signify as well the images of natural things as artificial marks or characters; and ΓΡΑΦΩ is both to paint and to write. The not attending to this natural and easy progress of hieroglyphic images from pictures to alphabetic letters, made some amongst the ancients, as Plato and Tully, when struck with the wonderful artifice of an

* Les premiers inventeurs de l'écriture Chinoise, en s'attachant à des signes, qui n'ont qu'un rapport d'institution avec les choses signifiées, ont suivi le génie de la nation Chinoise; qui même avant Fo-hi, c'est à dire, dans la plus profonde antiquité, se servoit de cordelettes nouées en guise d'écriture. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. vi. Freret.

† See note [S] at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [T] at the end of this Book.

‖ See note [U] at the end of this Book.

ALPHABET, conclude that it was no human invention, but a gift of the immortal Gods.

Here then we see the first beginnings of Hieroglyphics amongst the Mexicans, and the end of them amongst the Chinese; yet we never find them employed in either of these places for *mystery* or concealment: what there was of this practice, therefore, in the middle stage of their cultivation amongst the Egyptians, we must needs conclude had some private or peculiar cause, unrelated to their general nature.

But the course of the Mexican empire was too short to improve picture into an hieroglyphic; and the Chinese, which, in its long duration, hath brought this picture down, through hieroglyphics, to a simple mark, or character, hath not yet (from the poverty of its inventive genius*, and its aversion to foreign commerce) been able to find out an abridgment of those marks, by letters; it was the old and well established monarchy of Egypt, so propitious to arts and civil policy, which carried the PICTURE, through all the stages of its improvement, quite down to LETTERS, the invention of this ingenious people†.

Now such a general concurrence in the method of recording the thoughts, can never be supposed the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purposes; but must needs be esteemed the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the first rude conceptions of mankind: for the reader may be pleased to observe, that not only the Chinese of the East, the Mexicans of the West, and the Egyptians of the South, but the Scythians likewise of the North (not to speak of those intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phœnicians, Ethiopians, Etruscans, &c.) all used the same way of writing by picture and hieroglyphic‡.

But to shew still clearer, that it was nature and ne-

* See note [X] at the end of this Book.

† Primi pér *figuras animalium* ÆGYPTII sensus mentis effingebant; et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur, et *litterarum* semet inventores perhibent; inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererint, quæ acceperant. Taciti An. l. xi. c. 14.

‡ See note [Y] at the end of this Book.

cessity,

cessity, not choice and artifice, which gave birth and continuance to these several specieses of hieroglyphic writing, we shall now take a view of the rise and progress of its sister-art, the art of SPEECH; and having set them together and compared them, we shall see with pleasure, how great a lustre they mutually reflect upon one another; for, as St. Austin elegantly expresses it, *Signa sint* VERBA VISIBILIA; *verba,* SIGNA AUDIBILIA.

I. LANGUAGE, as appears from the nature of the thing, from the records of history, and from the remains of the most ancient languages yet remaining, was at first extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal*: so that men would be perpetually at a loss, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themselves intelligibly to one another; the art of inlarging language by a scientific analogy being a late invention: this would necessarily set them upon supplying the deficiencies of speech by apt and significant SIGNS†. Accordingly, in the first ages of the world, mutual converse was upheld by a mixed discourse of words and ACTIONS; hence came the eastern phrase of *the voice of the sign*‡; and use and custom, as in most other affairs of life, improving what had arisen out of necessity, into ornament, this practice subsisted long after the necessity was over; especially amongst the eastern people, whose natural temperament inclined them to a mode of conversation, which so well exercised their vivacity, by motion; and so much gratified it, by a perpetual representation of material images. Of this we have innumerable instances in holy Scripture: as where the false prophet pushed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians‖: where Jeremiah, by God's

* See note [Z] at the end of this Book.

† If this be true, it must be the case at all times, and in all places, where language remains within those narrow bounds. Thus Lafiteau, speaking of the savages of North America, observes, *Ils parlent autant du* GESTE *que de la voix.*—Mœurs des Sauvages, vol. i. p. 482. 4to edit.

‡ Exod. iv. 8. And not for the reason given by Le Clerc, on the place, ideoque *vox* iis [prodigiis] tribuitur, cùm eorum operâ Deus, non minus ac voce, suum hunc prophetam esse significaret.

‖ 1 Kings xxii. 11.

direction, hides the linen girdle in a hole of the rock near Euphrates; where he breaks a potter's vessel in sight of the people; puts on bonds and yokes; and casts a book into Euphrates *: where Ezekiel, by the same appointment, delineates the siege of Jerusalem on a tile; weighs the hair of his beard in balances; carries out his household-stuff; and joins together the two sticks for Judah and Israel †. By these actions the prophets instructed the people in the will of God, and conversed with them in signs: but where God teaches the prophet, and, in compliance to the custom of that time, condescends to the same mode of instruction, then the significative action is generally changed into a vision, either natural or extraordinary: as where the prophet Jeremiah is bid to regard the rod of the almond-tree, and the seething pot; the work on the potter's wheel, and the baskets of good and bad figs ‡; and the prophet Ezekiel, the ideal scene of the resurrection of dry bones ||. The significative action, I say, was, in this case, generally changed into a vision; but not always. For as sometimes, where the instruction was for the people, the significative action was, perhaps, in *vision:* so, sometimes again, though the information was only for the prophet, God would set him upon a real expressive action, whose obvious meaning conveyed the intelligence proposed or sought. Of this, we shall give, at the expence of infidelity, a very illustrious instance ¶. The excellent Maimonides, not attending to this primitive mode of information, is much scandalized at several of these actions, unbecoming, as he supposed, the dignity of the prophetic office; and is therefore for resolving them in general into supernatural visions, impressed on the imagination of the prophet **; and this, because some few

* Jerem. xiii. xix. xxvii. li.
† Ezek. iv. v. xii. xxxvii. 16.
‡ Ib. i. xviii. xxiv.
|| Ib. xxxvii. 2.
¶ See the case of Abraham, b. vi. § 5.

** More Nevochim, P. ii. cap. xlvi. which chapter he thus intitles, *Quòd opera ea, quæ prophetæ dicunt se fecisse, non fuerint facta revera & externè, sed tantum in visione prophetiæ*; and then goes on:— Scias ergo, quemadmodum in somnio accidit, ut homini videatur, ac si in hanc vel illam regionem profectus esset, uxorem in ea duxisset, ac ad tempus aliquod ibi habitâsset, filium, quem N. appellârit, & qui talis aut talis fuerit, ex ea suscepisset; ita se quoque rem habere in

few of them may, perhaps, admit of such an interpretation. In which he is followed by Christian writers *, much to the discredit, as I conceive, of Revelation; and to the triumph of libertinism and infidelity †; the actions of the prophets being delivered as realities; and these writers representing them as *mean, absurd*, and fanatical, *and exposing the prophet to contempt* ‡. But what is it they gain by this expedient? The charge of absurdity and fanaticism will follow the prophet in his visions, when they have removed it from his waking actions: for if these actions were absurd and fanatical in the real representation, they must needs be so in the imaginary; the same turn of mind operating both asleep and awake ‖. The judicious reader therefore cannot but observe that the reasonable and true defence of the prophetic writings is what is here offered: where we shew, that information by action was, at this time, and place, a very familiar mode of conversation. This once seen, all charge of absurdity, and suspicion of fanaticism, vanish of themselves: the *absurdity* of an action consists in its being extravagant and insignificative; but use and a fixed application made these in question both sober and pertinent: the *fanaticism* of an action consists in a fondness for unusual actions and foreign modes of speech; but those in question were idiomatic and familiar. To illustrate this last observation by a domestic example: when

in illis parabolis prophetarum, quas vident aut faciunt in visione prophetiæ. Quicquid enim docent parabolæ illæ de actione aliquâ & rebus, quas propheta facit, de mensura & spatio temporis inter unam & alteram actionem, de profectione ex uno loco in alium: illud omne non est nisi in visione prophetica, nequaquam verò sunt actiones veræ & in sensus incurrentes, licet quædam partes præcisè & absolutè commemorentur in libris prophetarum.

* Vid. *Joannis Smith, Theol. Cantab. Dissertationem de Prophetia & Prophetis ex transl. Joannis Clerici*, cap. vi. and his late followers.

† See note [AA] at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [BB] at the end of this Book.

‖ "Prophetic dreams and visions were so very lively (says a learned "writer) and affected the imagination with such force, that *the prophet himself could not at the time distinguish such visions from realities. Something of this kind we experience in our dreams and reveries.*"—See Diss. on Balaam, p. 193.

when the sacred writers talk of being *born after the spirit*, of being *fed with the sincere milk of the word*, of *putting their tears into a bottle*, of *bearing testimony against lying vanities*, of *taking the veil from men's hearts*, and of *building up one another*; they speak the common, yet proper and pertinent phraseology of their country; and not the least imputation of fanaticism can stick upon these original expressions. But when we see our own countrymen reprobate their native idiom, and affect to employ only scripture phrases in their whole conversation, as if some inherent sanctity resided in the Eastern modes of expression, we cannot chuse but suspect such men far gone in the delusions of a heated imagination. The same may be said of significative actions *.

But it is not only in sacred story that we meet with the mode of *speaking by action*. Profane antiquity is full of these examples; and it is not unlikely but, in the course of our enquiry, we shall have occasion to produce some of them: the early Oracles in particular frequently employed it, as we learn from an old saying of Heraclitus: *That the king whose Oracle is at Delphi, neither speaks nor keeps silent, but reveals by* SIGNS †.

Now this way of expressing the thoughts by ACTION perfectly coincided with that, of recording them by PICTURE. There is a remarkable case in ancient story, which shews the relation between *speaking by action* and *writing by picture*, so strongly, that we shall need no other proof of the similar nature of these two forms. It is told by Clemens Alexandrinus: *They say, that Idanthura, a king of the Scythians (as Pherecydes Syrius relates the story), when ready to oppose Darius, who had passed the Ister, sent the Persian a symbol instead of letters, namely, a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and*

* See Clem. Walker's story of the fanatic soldier with his five lights. Hist. Indep. Part. II. p. 152.

† Οὔτε λέγει, οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει. Plut. περὶ τῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἐμμέτρως, p. 992. which being a less precise and more equivocal mode of information, excellently well fitted the trade of oracles. The Lacedemonians [see Herodotus in Thalia] preferred it to speech for another reason, viz. to hinder their being misled by the illusions of oratory,

a plough.

a plough *. Thus this message being to supply both speech and writing, the purport of it was, we see, expressed by a composition of *action* and *picture*.

II. As speech became more cultivated, this rude manner of speaking by action was smoothed and polished into an APOLOGUE or *fable*; where the speaker, to inforce his purpose by a suitable impression, told a familiar tale of his own invention, accompanied with such circumstances as made his design evident and persuasive: for language was yet too narrow, and the minds of men too undisciplined, to support only abstract reasoning and a direct address. We have a noble example of this form of instruction in the speech of Jotham to the men of Shechem; in which he upbraids their folly, and foretells their ruin, in chusing Abimelech for their king. As this is not only the oldest, but the most beautiful † apologue of antiquity, I shall need no excuse for transcribing it: "The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over "them, and they said unto the olive-tree, Reign thou "over us. But the olive-tree said unto them, Should "I leave my fatness, wherewith, by me, they honour "God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees? "And the trees said to the fig-tree, Come thou, and "reign over us. But the fig-tree said unto them, Should "I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to "be promoted over the trees? Then said the trees unto "the vine, Come thou, and reign over us. And the "vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, *which* "*cheereth God and man*, and go to be promoted over the "trees? Then said all the trees unto the bramble, Come "thou, and reign over us. And the bramble said unto "the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then "come and put your trust in my shadow; and if not, "let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the "cedars of Lebanon ‡."

How nearly the *apologue* and *instruction by action* are related, may be seen in the account of Jeremiah's

‡ Φασὶ γῶν κ᾽ Ἰδάνθυραν τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος, Δαρείῳ διαβάντι τὸν Ἴστρον πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντα πέμψαι σύμβολον ἀντὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, μῦν, βάτραχον, ὄρνιθα, ἰὸν, ἄροτρον. Strom. lib. v p. 567.

* See note [CC] at the end of this Book.

† See note [DD] at the end of this Book.

adventure

adventure with the Rechabites*; an instruction partaking of the joint nature of *action* and *apologue*.

This was the birth of the FABLE; a kind of speech which corresponds, in all respects, to *writing by hieroglyphics*, each being the symbol of something else understood. And, as it sometimes happened, when an Hieroglyphic became famous, it lost its particular signification, and assumed a general one; as the *Caduceus*, for instance, which was, at first, painted only to denote the pacific office of Hermes, became, in time, to be the common symbol of league and amity: so it was with the Apologue; of which, when any one became celebrated for the art and beauty of its composition, or for some extraordinary efficacy in its application, it was soon converted and worn into a PROVERB. We have a fine instance of this in the message of Jehoash to Amaziah, "Saying, *The thistle that was in Lebanon, sent to the* "*cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter* "*to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast* "*that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle.* Thou "hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted "thee up: glory of this, and tarry at home: for why "shouldest thou meddle to thy hurt, that thou shouldest "fall, even thou, and Judah with thee†?" Where we see plainly that this satiric apologue of the thistle and cedar was now become a proverb: of a like kind is that of the prophet; *Howl, fir tree, for the cedar is fallen*‡; to denote the danger of the lower people, when their superiors cannot withstand the civil tempest.

III. But as speech improved into an art, the Apologue was contracted into a SIMILE, in which men consulted closeness as well as brevity; for here the subject itself being still kept in sight, there was no need, as in the Apologue, of a formal application: and how easily the Apologue slid into the *Similitude*, we may see by the following passage of Jeremiah, which, being something between both these forms of speech, communicates of either's nature: *The Lord called thy name a green-olive-tree, fair and of goodly fruit: with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken*‖, *&c.* This way of speaking by

* Ch. xxxv. † 2 Kings xiv. 9, 10. ‡ Zech. xi. 2. ‖ Jer. xi. 16.

Simile,

Simile, we may conceive to answer to the *Chinese marks* or characters in writing.

Again, as from such *marks* proceeded the abbreviated method of *alphabetic letters*, so from the Simile, to make language still more expedite and elegant, came the METAPHOR; which is indeed but a Simile in little: for men so conversant in *matter* still wanted sensible images to convey abstract ideas. The steps by which the *Simile* was contracted into the *Metaphor*, may be easily traced by a careful perusal of the prophetic writings; there being no mode of speech more common than that compounded of both; where the *Simile* is just about to be forsaken, and the *Metaphor* to be received. In this manner are God's judgments denounced against the king of Assyria: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top amongst the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have therefore delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen:—and strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top amongst the thick boughs *." Quintilian considering this matter in an inverted order, yet makes an observation, where he speaks of *metaphors*, much to our purpose—Continuus [usus] vero in allegoriam & ænigmata exit †. That is, As the allegory may, by degrees, be contracted into a Metaphor, so the Metaphor, by beating long upon it, may be drawn back again into an allegory.

As the *Simile* slid into a *Metaphor*, so the metaphor often softened into a simple EPITHET, which soon discharged all the colouring of the figure. This is observ-

* Ezek. xxxi. 10, &c. seq. † L. viii. c. 6.

able

able in the words *decrepit* *, *capricious*, and a great many others, when applied either to the body or mind. Which being first used in *simile*, then in *metaphor*, at length, by frequent use in *epithet*, lost the very memory of their original †.

Thus we see the common foundation of all these various modes of WRITING and SPEAKING, was a PICTURE or IMAGE, presented to the *imagination* through the eyes and ears; which being the simplest and most universal of all kinds of information (the first reaching those who could not decipher the arbitrary characters of an alphabet; and the latter instructing those who were yet strangers to abstract terms), we must needs conclude to be the natural inventions of rude necessity.

And here it may not be amiss to repeat an observation made before, that the primitive and more simple way of expression, whether in *writing* or *speaking*, did not always straight grow into disuse on the invention of a more improved manner. Thus we see in Scripture, the way of *speaking* by action was still used after the introduction of the Apologue; and the Apologue, after that of the Simile and Metaphor. And so again in *writing*; the first and simplest hieroglyphics continued to be used in Egypt (as we shall see) long after the refinement of them into those more artful ones called *symbolical*; and these, after that further improvement into characters or *marks* resembling the Chinese, and even after the invention of *letters*.

But how, as in these several modes of speech, so in the several forms of writing, men made a virtue of necessity, and turned that into ornament and mystery, which had its birth in poverty, and was brought up in simplicity and plainness, is to be our next enquiry.

II.

It is now, I suppose, apparent, that the hitherto received opinion, that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *conceal* their knowledge, and render it mysterious, is

* DECREPITUS. Comparatio vitæ nostræ cum lucerna nota fuit Latinis, ut patet ex decrepitorum senum nuncupatione. Prim. Scal p. 48.

† See note [EE] at the end of this Book.

altogether

altogether without foundation. However, as it is very certain they did, at length, *employ* hieroglyphic writing to such a purpose, it will be proper to examine how this came about; How one of the simplest and plainest means of instruction came to be converted into one of the most artificial and abstruse.

To support what we have to say on this head with proper authority, it will be necessary to produce two important passages from Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, concerning the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing. On these, we shall regulate our discourse; which will, in its turn, contribute to illustrate these passages, hitherto, as we conceive, very imperfectly understood.

But it will be proper first of all to give the reader a general idea of the several natures and kinds of Egyptian writing, according to the order of time in which each was invented and improved; and for the truth, as well as perfect intelligence of the account, refer him to the whole of the discourse.

Egyptian writing was of four kinds: the first, HIEROGLYPHIC, and this twofold: the more rude, called *curiologic*; and the more artificial, called *tropical:* the second, SYMBOLIC; and this likewise was twofold; the more simple, and the more mysterious; that *tropical*, this *allegorical*. These two kinds of writing, namely the hieroglyphic and symbolic (which went under the generic term of *hieroglyphics*, distinguished into *proper*, and *symbolic* hieroglyphics), were not composed of the letters of an alphabet, but of marks or characters which stood for THINGS, not words. The third EPISTOLIC, so called, as we shall see, from its being first applied to *civil* matters: and the fourth and last, HIEROGRAMMATIC, from its being used only in *religious*. These two last kinds of writing, namely, the epistolic and hierogrammatic, expressed WORDS, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet.

We come now to the passages in question. Porphyry, speaking of Pythagoras, tells us: That *he sojourned with the priests in Egypt, and learnt the wisdom and the language of the country, together with their three sorts of letters, the* EPISTOLIC, *the* HIEROGLYPHIC, *and the* SYMBOLIC;

SYMBOLIC; *of which the* HIEROGLYPHIC *expressed the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing intended to be expressed; and the* SYMBOLIC, *by allegorical enigmas* *. Clemens is larger and more explicit :—*Now those who are instructed in the Egyptian wisdom, learn first of all the method of their several sorts of letters; the first of which is called* EPISTOLIC; *the second* SACERDOTAL, *as being used by the sacred scribes; the last, with which they conclude their instructions,* HIEROGLYPHICAL. *Of these different methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by the first elements of words, or letters of an alphabet; the other by* SYMBOLS. *Of the symbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds; the first is that plain and common one of imitating the figure of the thing represented; the second is by tropical marks; and the third, in a contrary way, of allegorizing by Enigmas. Of the first sort, namely, by a plain and direct imitation of the figure, let this stand for an instance:—To signify the sun, they made a circle; the moon, a half circle. The second, or tropical way of writing, is by changing and transferring the object with justness and propriety* †: *this they do, sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by a complex multifarious transformation; thus they leave engraven* ‡ *on stones and pillars the praises of their kings, under the cover of theologic fables. Of the third sort, by enigmas, take this example: the oblique course of the stars occasioned their representing them by the bodies of serpents; but the sun they likened to a scarabæus, because this insect makes a round ball of beast's dung, and rolls it circularly, with its face opposed to that luminary* ‖.

Thus these two ancient Greeks: but both of them being in the general mistake concerning the original of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is no wonder their accounts should be inaccurate and confused. The first mistake common to both, and the natural consequence of that false principle, is making the EPISTOLARY writing first,

* See note [FF] at the end of this Book.
† See note [GG] at the end of this Book.
‡ See note [HH] at the end of this Book.
‖ See note [II] at the end of this Book.

in

in order of time *, which was indeed the last. For that this was their sentiment appears from Clemens's calling hieroglyphic writing ὑσάτην καὶ τελειοτάτην, the last and most perfect kind. The second common mistake is their counting but three sorts of writing, when, indeed, there were four; as is discoverable even from their own reckoning: Porphyry naming *epistolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *symbolic*; Clemens, *epistolic*, *sacerdotal*, and *hieroglyphical*; the First leaving out *sacerdotal*, which the Second supplies; and the Second *symbolic*, which the First supplies. Their other mistakes are peculiar to each: Clemens errs most in enumerating the several sorts; and Porphyry in explaining their several natures.

This latter writer names the three sorts, *epistolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *symbolic*; and this was not much amiss, because the fourth, the *hierogrammatic*, or *sacerdotal*, not differing from the *epistolic* in its nature, but only in its use, he comprized it, we may suppose, under the *generic* term of *epistolic*: but when he comes to explain the nature of the *symbolic*, which is performed two ways, *tropically* and *allegorically*, he quite omits the first, and insists only on the latter.

Clemens, on the other hand, gives us these three kinds, the *epistolic*, the *sacerdotal* or hierogrammatical, and the *hieroglyphical*. Here *epistolic* is used as a specific term, and *hieroglyphical* as a *generic*; just contrary to Porphyry, who, in his enumeration, employs them the other way: but then, as to their nature, Clemens says, the *epistolic and sacerdotal were by letters of an alphabet, and the hieroglyphic by symbols*: the first part of the explanation is exact. We have observed that Porphyry judiciously omits to explain epistolary writing, as supposing it to be well known: but Clemens, who adds to epistolary, *sacerdotal*, a way of writing, though like the epistolary, by an alphabet, yet being confined to the use of the priests, not so well known, he with equal judgment explains their nature: but the latter part of his account, where he says hieroglyphic writing was by symbols, making symbolic, which is a specific term, to be equivalent to hieroglyphical, which he uses generically, is an unlucky blunder; of

* See note [KK] at the end of this book.

which

which this is the consequence, that proceeding to divide *symbolic*, as a generic term, into three sorts, *curiologic*, *tropical*, and *allegorical*; he falls into a direct contradiction: τῆς δὲ Συμβολικῆς, says he, ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν, *the first kind of symbolic writing is by a plain and simple imitation of the figure of the thing intended to be represented*; which is directly contrary to the very nature of a symbol; a symbol being the representation of one thing by the figure of another. For instance, it was the bull Apis, and not the picture or image of Osiris, that was the *symbol* of Osiris: Clemens therefore, we conceive, should have said—*hieroglyphics* were written *curiologically* and *symbolically*; that the *curiologic hieroglyphics* were by *imitation*; the *symbolic*, by *conversion*; and that, of this *conversion*, there were two kinds, the *tropical* and *allegorical*; and then all had answered to his foregoing division. For the rest, He explains the nature of *curiologic* and *symbolic hieroglyphics* with sufficient exactness; save that the first instance he gives of *allegoric symbols* seems to belong to the *tropical*.

Thus we see how these writers contribute to the correcting one another's mistakes. What is necessary for the further clearing up their accounts, which, obscure as they are, are the best that antiquity will afford us, shall be occasionally considered as we go along.

Let us next enquire how HIEROGLYPHICS came to be employed for the *vehicle of mystery*.

I. The Egyptians, in the beginnings of their monarchy, wrote like all other infant nations, in a kind of universal character by picture; of which rude original essays, we have yet some traces remaining amongst the *hieroglyphics of Horapollo*; who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a *man's two feet in water* to signify a *fuller**, and *smoke ascending upwards* to denote *fire* †. But to render this rude invention less incommodious, they soon devised the more artful way of putting one single figure for the mark or representative of several things; and thus made their picture an HIEROGLYPHIC.

This was the first improvement of that rude and barbarous way of recording men's ideas; and was practised

* Horap. l. i. c. 65. † L. ii. c. 16.

in

in a twofold manner; the one more simple, by putting the principal part for the whole; the other more artificial, by putting one thing, of resembling qualities, for another. The first species was the CURIOLOGIC HIEROGLYPHIC; the second, the TROPICAL HIEROGLYPHIC; the latter of which was a gradual improvement on the former; as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity. Thus the *moon* was sometimes represented by a *half circle*, sometimes by a *cynocephalus**: The overflowings of the Nile, sometimes by a spreading *water in heaven and earth*, sometimes by a *lion*†; (a hieroglyphic, we may suppose, invented after they had learnt a little astronomy): a *judge*, sometimes by a *man without hands, holding down his eyes*‡, to denote the duty of being unmoved by interest or pity: sometimes by a *dog near a royal robe*‖; for they had a superstition that a dog, of all animals, was only privileged to see the gods; and it was an old custom for their judges to behold and examine their kings naked: Now in all these instances we see the first hieroglyphic is *curiological*; the second, *tropical*.

The Egyptians therefore, employed, as we say, the *proper hieroglyphics* to record, openly and plainly, their laws, policies, public morals, and history; and in a word, all kinds of civil matters.

1. This is seen from those remaining monuments of old Egyptian wisdom, the OBELISKS¶. That very ancient one of Ramesses, now standing before the pontific palace in Rome, and first erected to adorn the city of Heliopolis, is full of hieroglyphic characters; these Hermapion translated into Greek; and part of his translation is preserved in Ammianus Marcellinus. By which it appears, that the writings on this obelisk contained only a panegyric on Ramesses, and a history of his conquests. But this was not the subject of one only, but of all the obelisks in general**. We have seen

* Horap. l. i. c. 14. † L. i. c. 21.
‡ Plutarch. Is. & Osir.—Diod. Sic. lib. i. ‖ Horap. l. i. c. 40.
¶ See note [LL] at the end of this Book.
** O Ægypte, Ægypte, Religionum tuarum solæ supererunt fabulæ, & æque incredibiles Posteris suis; solaque supererunt verba LAPIDIBUS incisa, TUA FACTA NARRANTIBUS. Apuleius, Elmenh. ed. p. 90.

already, and shall see further, what Clemens Alexandrinus hath observed to this purpose. Diodorus saith, that *Sesostris erected two obelisks of very durable stone, each twenty cubits high; on which he engraved the number of his forces, the particulars of his revenue, and a catalogue of the nations he had conquered**. At Thebes, Strabo telleth us, there were *certain obelisks with inscriptions recording the riches and power of their kings, and the extensiveness of their dominion, stretching into Scythia, Bactria, India, and the country now called Ionia; together with the multitude of their tributes, and the number of the soldiery, which consisted of a million of men*†: And Proclus assureth us, *That the Egyptians recorded all singular events, memorable actions and new inventions on columns, or stone pillars*‡. Tacitus is more particular than the rest: for speaking of Germanicus's voyage into Egypt, and his curiosity in examining its antiquities, he saith: *Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia; & manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorum opulentiam complexæ: jussusque è senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari: atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya, Æthiopia, Medisque & Persis, & Bactriano, ac Scythia potitum. Quasque terras Syri Armeniique & contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bythynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur & indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti & auri, numerus armorum equorumque, & dona templis ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti & omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc, vi*

* δύο δὲ λιθίνους Ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ λίθου, πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἴκωσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψε τοτε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν. Lib. i. p. 37. S. E.

† —ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήκαις ἐπί τινων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν τότε βασιλέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν, καὶ Βακτρίων, καὶ Ἰνδῶν, καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διατείνασαν· καὶ φόρων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατιᾶς περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας. l. xvii.

‡ Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀεὶ νέα πάρεστιν· ἡ δὲ μνήμη, διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας· αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν στυλῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀπεγράφοντο τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ θαύματος ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴτε ἐν πράξεσιν, εἴτε ἐν εὑρέσεσιν. Procl. in Timæum, l. i. p. 31. f.

Partho-

*Parthorum, aut potentia Romana, jubentur**. But to obviate at once all the cavils of Kircher against this concurrent testimony, I observe, in the last place, that it receives the fullest confirmation from that excellent treatise of Horapollo, which consists chiefly of the ancient and proper hieroglyphics; all of them relating to civil life, and altogether unfit for the abstruse speculations of philosophy and theology.

2. This is further seen from that celebrated inscription on the temple of Minerva at Saïs, so much spoken of by the Ancients; where an infant, an old man, a hawk, a fish, and a river-horse, expressed this moral sentence, *All you who come into the world, and go out of it, know this, that the Gods hate impudence.* The excellent Stillingfleet, who was in the common opinion that the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics to *secrete* their profound wisdom, and that this inscription at Saïs was part of that wisdom, pronounces sentence from hence, on all their mystic learning in general:—"Certainly "(says he) this kind of learning deserves the highest "form amongst the *difficiles nugæ*; and all these hiero-"glyphics put together will make but one good one, and "should be for—*labour lost* †." But there might be much knowledge in their mystic learning, whatever becomes of the hieroglyphical inscription at Saïs; which was indeed no part of that learning, but a plain and public admonition in the proper hieroglyphic; so far from being a *difficult trifle*, to be secreted, that it was a very plain and important truth to be read and understood by the people; as appears from the place where it was engraved, the vestibule of a public temple.

And here KIRCHER's visionary labours on this subject might have been pitied, had he discovered in any of his voluminous writings on the Hieroglyphics, the least regard to truth or probability. This learned person had collected a fact from Antiquity, which the notoriety of it will not suffer us to call in question, namely, that *the old Egyptians committed their profound and secret wisdom to the seal of hieroglyphics.* Egyptian wisdom was a matter of moment. But the learned Jesuit did not duly consider, whether any of the vehicles of that wis-

* Annal. lib. ii. † Orig. Sacr. l. ii. c. ii. p. 79.

dom were yet in being; much less did he reflect that the same Antiquity which tells us they had much profound wisdom, tells us likewise, that it was all collected in their sacerdotal * books, books long since lost; and that the ancient monuments of stone still remaining, were records of another nature. However, inflamed with the glory of a Discoverer, he lanches out in search of this unknown World; guided by some of the latest Greek writings, in conjunction with the earliest Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Greek writings indeed pretended (though very impudently †) to ancient Egyptian wisdom; but these hieroglyphics constantly disclaimed it ‡: By this direction he steered at large: and it is pleasant to see him labouring through half a dozen folios with the writings of late Greek Platonists, and the forged books of Hermes, which contain a philosophy, not Egyptian, to explain and illustrate old monuments, not philosophical. While Hermapion, Diodorus, Strabo, Proclus, Tacitus, and Pliny, are carefully avoided as false lights, which would drive him upon rocks and shallows.—But to proceed.

II. Thus far went the two species, of the *proper* Hieroglyphic; which, in its last stage of the tropical, touched upon SYMBOLS (of which we are now to speak) they having this in common, that each *represented one thing by another*; in this they differed, that the *tropical Hieroglyphic* was employed to divulge; the *tropical Symbol*, to secrete: for all the several modes of writing by THINGS having had their progressive state, from less to more perfection, they easily fell into one another; so that there was but little difference between the *proper* Hieroglyphic in its last state, and the *symbolic* in its first. For this method of contriving *tropical hieroglyphics*, by similar properties, would of itself produce refinement and nice enquiry into the more hidden and abstruse qualities of things; which meeting at the same

* See Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. † Vol. iii. b. iii. § 4.

‡ Thus in one place he expresses himself:—Plerique ferè Herodotum, Diodorum, Plinium secuti, *Obeliscos* non nisi historicas regum veterum commemorationes continere opinati sunt; quod tamen falsum esse, ex dictis *luce meridiana clarius patet.* pp. 269, 270. of his Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii.

time

time with a temper now much turned to speculation * on matters of theology and philosophy, would as naturally introduce a new species of zoographic writing, called by the ancients SYMBOLIC, and employed for SECRECY †; which the high speculations, conveyed in it, required; and for which it was well fitted by the ænigmatic quaintness of its representations.

As the proper Hieroglyphics were of two kinds, *curiological* and *tropical*, so were SYMBOLS; the more natural, simply TROPICAL; the more artificial, ENIGMATICAL.

1. TROPICAL symbols were made by employing the less known properties of things. The quality was sometimes used for the sake of a fanciful resemblance; as a *cat* stood for the *moon*, because they observed the pupil of her eye to be filled and enlarged at the full moon, and to be contracted and diminished during its decrease ‡: sometimes it was founded on the natural history of an animal; as a *serpent* represented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and spirit, its long age and reviresence ||. How easily the *tropical hieroglyphic* fell into the *tropical symbol*, we may see by the following instances: *eternity* was sometimes expressed by the sun and moon, sometimes by the basilisk ¶; *Egypt*, sometimes by the crocodile, sometimes by a burning censer with a heart upon it **: where the simplicity of the first representation and the abstruseness of the latter, in each instance, shew, that the one was a *tropical hieroglyphic* employed for communication; the other a *tropical symbol* contrived for secrecy.

2. ENIGMATIC symbols were formed by the mysterious assemblage of different things, as in the *Caduceus*; or of the parts of different animals, as in a *serpent with*

* Τάαυτος, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι Θὼθ προσαγορεύουσι, σοφία διενεγκὼν παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξι, πρῶτος τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν χυδαίων ἀπειρίας, εἰς ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. Sanch. apud Euseb. Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

† See note [MM] at the end of this Book.

‡ αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν αὐτοῦ κόραι πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαραυγεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἄστρου. Plut. de Is. & Os.

|| Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

¶ Horap. l. i. c. i. ** Lib. i. c. 22.

 a hawk's

a hawk's head *; or of things and animals together, as in a serpent with a hawk's head *in a circle* †: the change of the *tropical* into the *enigmatic* symbol is seen in this; To signify the sun, they sometimes ‡ painted a *hawk*, and this was *tropical*; sometimes a *scarabæus with a round ball in its claws*, and this, as we see in Clemens, was of the *enigmatic* kind. Thus at length, though by insensible degrees, these characters, called *enigmatic symbols*, became immensely distant from those called *curiologic hieroglyphics:* to conceive this, the reader need only cast his eye on two the most celebrated of the Egyptian hieroglyphics employed to denote the *universal Nature*; namely, the *Diana Multimammia* ‖; *and the winged globe with a serpent issuing from it* ¶; the first is in the very simplest style, of a *curiologic hieroglyphic*; the other mysterious assemblage, is an *enigmatic symbol:* but, under the first figure, we must observe that the *universal Nature* was considered *physically*; under the latter, *metaphysically*; agreeably to the different genius of the times in which each was invented.

But this was not all: the Egyptian Hieroglyphic, in passing from an instrument of open communication, to a vehicle of secrecy, suffered another and more remarkable change. We have observed before, that the early Egyptian hieroglyphics resembled, in this, the Mexican, that what things had bodily form were generally represented by figures; what had not by marks or characters. Which we find verified in the most ancient of the Egyptian Obelisks yet remaining. The reader need but cast his eye into Kircher, to see how exactly their hieroglyphics in this point resembled the *American*, published by Purchas, not only in their use, which as Purchas ** and Diodorus †† say, were to record the number of their troops, the particulars of their revenue, and the names of their conquered towns and provinces; but likewise in their forms and figures. But when now every thing was directed to secrecy and mystery, *modes* as well

* Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10. † Ibid.
‡ Horap. l. i. c. 6.
‖ See note [NN] at the end of this Book.
¶ See the Bembine Table.
** See p. 119. †† See p. 146.

substances

substances were painted by *images* *. Thus *openness* was expressed by a hare †, *destruction* by a mouse ‡, *uncleanness* by a wild goat ‖, *impudence* by a fly ¶, *knowledge* by an ant **, *aversion* by a wolf ††, *anger* by a cynocephalus ‡‡, *&c.* And to make the matter still more mysterious, one animal was made to represent many and very contrary moral modes; thus the *hawk* signified sublimity, humility, victory, excellence |||, *&c.* On the contrary, and for the same reason, one thing was represented by many and various hieroglyphics; sometimes for an addition, out of choice, to confound the vulgar; sometimes for a change, out of necessity, when a hieroglyphic by long or frequent use was become vulgar or common.

Now the ancient Greeks, though they saw this to be a different species of writing from the proper hieroglyphic, and accordingly, as we find by Porphyry, distinguished them into two kinds, *hieroglyphical* and *symbolical*, yet confounding their original, in supposing both invented out of choice, have not accurately distinguished either their different natures or uses: they took it for granted that the *hieroglyphic*, as well as *symbol*, was a mysterious representation; and, what was worse, a representation of speculative notions in philosophy and theology; whereas it was used only in public and open writings, to register their civil policy and history:—These mistakes involved the whole history of hieroglyphic writing in infinite confusion.

But it is now time to speak of an alteration, which this change of the subject and manner of expression made in the DELINEATION of hieroglyphic figures. Hitherto the animal or thing representing was drawn out graphically; but when the study of philosophy (which had occasioned *symbolic* writing) had inclined their learned to write much, and variously; that exact manner of delineation would be as well too tedious as too voluminous: by degrees, therefore, they perfected another character, which we may call the *running-hand* of hieroglyphics, resembling the Chinese writing, which being

* See pp. 123, 124. † Horap. l. i. c. 26. ‡ c. 50.
‖ c. 49. ¶ c. 51. ** c. 52.
†† l. ii. c. 22. ‡‡ l. i. c. 14. ||| l. i. c. 6.

at first formed only by the outlines of each figure *, became at length a kind of marks. One natural effect which this running-hand would, in time, produce, we must not omit to mention; it was, that the use would take off the attention from the *symbol*, and fix it on the *thing signified*; by which means the study of symbolic writing would be much abbreviated, the reader or decipherer having then little to do, but to remember the power of the symbolic mark; whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal employed as a symbol were to be learnt: in a word, this, together with their other *marks* by *institution*, to design mental ideas, would reduce the characters to the present state of the *Chinese*. And these were properly what the ancients call HIEROGRAPHICAL †; used afterwards on subjects which had employed the ancient hieroglyphic, as we may see by what follows: Dr. Robert Huntington, in his *Account of the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt* ‡, tells us, there are yet some ancient monuments remaining of this kind of writing;—"The Franks (says he) call these pillars *Agug-*" *lia's*, and the English, in particular, *Cleopatra's* " *needles*; but the inhabitants content themselves with " the general name of pillars. They have no bases or " pedestals above ground; and if they ever had any, " they must needs be very deep in the earth. The hie-" roglyphic characters, wherewith they are engraven, " are probably the aboriginal Egyptian letters, long be-" come obsolete, and they resemble the Chinese cha-" racters, each whereof represents a word, or rather " an entire sentence; besides, they seem to be written " the same way, namely, from top to bottom." Apuleius ‖, speaking of his initiation into the mysteries of Isis, describes the sacred book or ritual (which we find was written partly in *symbolic*, and partly in these *hieroglyphic* characters of arbitrary institution, resembling the Chinese) in this manner: "He [the Hierophant] " drew out certain books from the secret repositories of " the Sanctuary, written in unknown characters, which

* See note [OO] at the end of this Book.
† See note [PP] at the end of this Book.
‡ Philos. Trans. N° clxi. p. 624.
‖ Metamorphosis, lib. ii.

" contained

" contained the words of the sacred Formula, compendiously expressed, partly by FIGURES of animals, and partly by certain MARKS *or notes, intricately knotted, revolving in the manner of a wheel,* and crowded together and curled inward like the tendrils of a vine *, so as to hide the meaning from the curiosity of the profane †." The characters here described may be seen in almost every compartment of the *Bembine-table*, between the larger human figures; and likewise on several of the *obelisks*, where they are disposed in the same manner. As we find these characters mixed with the *symbolic*, in the ritual of Apuleius; so in the *Bembine-table* we find them mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and the *symbolic*.

III. And now this contracted manner of hieroglyphic writing, called *hierographical*, will lead us, by an easy step, to the *third* species, called by Porphyry and Clemens the EPISTOLIC: For now we are come to one of those links of the chain which served to connect *hieroglyphic marks* and *alphabetic letters*; the first of which contained *curiologic* or *symbolic* signs of things; the other comprised signs of words by *arbitrary institution*. For those hieroglyphic marks which were SIGNS OF THINGS BY ARBITRARY INSTITUTION, partook of the proper hieroglyphics in being *signs for things*, and of alphabetic letters in being *signs by institution*. And the contrivance of employing these arbitrary marks to design all the primitive sounds of the human voice was inventing an *alphabet*. This was what the Egyptians called their EPISTOLIC writing. And, this, let me observe, the ancients agree, was invented by the SECRETARY OF AN EGYPTIAN KING. A circumstance which will much conduce to the discovery of the cause of its original.

Now, as it is evident that every kind of hieroglyphic

* For a specimen of the marks thus described, see Plate IX. fig. 1.

† *De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuscemodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes*; PARTIM NODOSIS, ET IN MODUM ROTÆ TORTUOSIS, CAPREOLATIMQUE CONDENSIS APICIBUS, *a curiositate profanorum lectione munita.*

writing,

writing, when employed in public business to convey the royal commands to leaders of armies and distant governors, must be unavoidably attended with the inconveniencies of imperfect and obscure information, it was natural for our *Secretary* to set himself upon contriving a remedy: and this he found in the invention of the letters of an alphabet; serving to express *words*, not *things*; whereby all the inconveniencies of imperfect information, so fatal in nice conjunctures, were avoided, and the writer's mind delivered with the utmost clearness and precision: which too had this further advantage, that as the Government would endeavour to keep their invention to themselves, LETTERS OF STATE were, for some time, conveyed with the security of our modern ciphers *: and thus, being at first appropriated to the use of the cabinet, literary writing naturally acquired the name of EPISTOLARY †; which if you will not allow, no reasonable account, I think, can be given of its title.

That this was, indeed, the fact, appears from Plato's account of Theuth's INVENTIONS. He tells us that when Theuth came to consult his master, king Thamus, about communicating his discoveries to the people, παρὰ τοῦτον ἐλθὼν ὁ Θεὺθ τὰς τέχνας ἐπέδειξε, καὶ ἔφη δεῖν διαδοθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, the king declared particularly against communicating the invention of LETTERS. But the reason he gives for the prohibition, we see, was not the principal and more immediate (as it rarely is amongst Politicians), but only a secondary, and more remote; namely, a regard to the interests of hieroglyphic learning: for the King tells his *Secretary*, that, if this secret should be divulged, men's attention would be called away from THINGS, to which hieroglyphics, and the manner of explaining them, necessarily attached it, and be placed in exterior and arbitrary SIGNS, which would prove the

* It was an ancient custom, as Diodorous tells us, for the kings of Egypt to read all the letters of state, themselves.—ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγεθέλα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἴδιᾳ πρῶτον τὰς παιλαχόθεν ἀπεσταλμένας ἐπιστολὰς, ἵνα δύναλαι πάλα καλὰ τρόπον χρημαλίζειν καὶ πράτλειν εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν καλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συνίλεμένων. p. 44.

† See note [QQ] at the end of this Book.

greatest

greatest hindrance to the progress of knowledge*. What is still more pleasant, and in the true genius of politics, even the reason given was thought fit to be disguised: for though there might be some truth in this; yet, without doubt, the chief concern of the Egyptian Priests was to continue themselves useful; which they would be, while science lay concealed in *hieroglyphics*.

Thus the reader finds, that the very contrary to the common opinion is the true; that it was the *first literary writing*, not the *first hieroglyphical*, which was invented for *secrecy*. In the course of time, indeed, they naturally changed their use; *letters* became common, and *hieroglyphics* hidden and mysterious.

But now it may be said, that though the progress from a *Picture* to a simple *Mark* hath been traced out, step by step, and may be easily followed, till we come to that untried ground where ART takes the lead of nature, the point where *real* characters end, and the *literary* begin; yet here, art seeing a precipice before her, which seems to divide the two characters to as great a distance as at first setting out, she takes so immense a leap as hath been thought to exceed all human efforts: which made Tully say, Summæ sapientiæ fuisse sonos vocis †, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminare‡; and many of the ancients to believe that LITERARY WRITING was an invention of the Gods.

However, if we would but reflect a little on the nature of sound, and its unheeded connexion with the objects of sight, we should be able to conceive how the chasm closed, and how the passage from a *real* to a *literary* character was begun and smoothed out.

While the picture, or image of the thing represented, continued to be objected to the sight of the reader, it could raise no idea but of the thing itself. But when the *picture* lost its form, by being contracted into a *mark* or *note*, the view of this mark or note would, in

* Τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν μαθόντων λήθην μὲν ἐν ψυχαῖς παρίξει, μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ; ἅτε διὰ πίστιν γραφῆς ἔξωθεν ὑπ' ἀλλοτρίων τύπων ἐκ ἔνδοθεν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὑτῶν ἀναμιμνησκομένους. ἔστιν μνήμης, ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φαρμακὸν εὗρες, σοφίας δὲ τοῖς μαθηταῖς δόξαν ἐκ ἀληθειαν πόριξεις. Phæd.

† See note [RR] at the end of this Book.

‡ Tusc. i. 25.

course

course of time, as naturally raise, in the mind, the *sound* expressing the idea of the thing, as the idea itself. How this extension, from the idea to the sound, in the use of the real character first arose, will be easily conceived by those who reflect on the numerous tribe of words in all languages, which is formed on the sound emitted by the thing or animal *.

Yet the use to which this new connexion might be applied, would never be thought of till the nature of human sounds had been well studied.

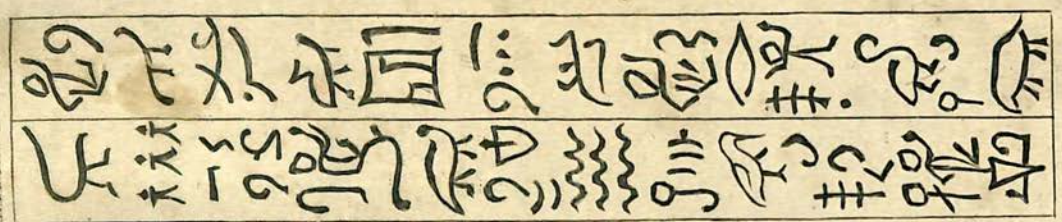
But when men had once observed (and this they could not but observe early and easily, by the brute and inarticulate sounds which they were perpetually hearing emitted) how small the number is of primitive sounds, and how infinite the words are which may be formed by varied combinations of those simple sounds, it would naturally and easily occur to them, that a very few of those *marks*, which had before casually excited the sensation of those simple sounds, might be selected and formed into what has been since called an alphabet, to express them all: And then, their old accustomed way of combining primitive sounds into words, would as naturally and easily direct them to a like combination of what were now become the simple marks of sound; from whence would arise LITERARY WRITING.

In the early language of men, the simple, primitive sounds would be used, whether out of choice or necessity, as significative words or terms, to denote the most obvious of those things with which they perpetually conversed. These sounds, without arbitrary institution, would incite the idea of the thing, sometimes, as its *audible image*, sometimes, as its *natural representative*. Therefore the old *marks* for things, to which words of this original belonged, would certainly be first thought of for the figures of those *alphabetic* letters by the ingenious inventer of this wonderful contrivance. And, in fact, this which appears so natural has been found to be

* For example, (to use the words of St. Austin) when we say in Latin, æris *tinnitum*, equorum *hinnitum*, ovium *balatum*, turbarum *clangorem*, *stridorem* catenarum, perspicis hæc verba ita sonare, ut res quæ his verbis significantur. This class of words the Greeks designed by the name of ὀνομαλοπο ῖα.

actually

Part of one side of the Florentine Obelisk From Kircher.



J. Mynde sc.

facing p. 152 of PLATE VIII.

actually the case: the most early *alphabets* being framed from the outlines of those figures in the real characters, which, by use, in their *hieroglyphic* state, had arrived at the facility of exciting, in the mind, the SOUND as well as THING *.

IV. But this *political* alphabet, as at first it was, soon occasioned the invention of another called SACRED: for the priests having a share in the Government, must have an early communication of the secret; and being now immerged in deep philosophy, they would naturally employ, in their hidden doctrines, a method so well adapted to convey abstract speculations with exactness and precision. But the various uses of an Alphabet in civil business not permitting it to continue long a secret, when it ceased to be so, they would as naturally invent another alphabetic character for their *sacred* use: which from that appropriation was called HIEROGRAMMATICAL.

That the Egyptian priests had such a *sacred alphabetic character*, we are informed by Herodotus:—"The "Greeks (says he) write their letters, and make their "computations with counters, from the left to the "right; the Egyptians, on the contrary, from the right "to the left.—They use two sorts of letters, one of "which they called *sacred*, the other *popular* †." Diodorus is yet more express; "the PRIESTS (say he) "taught their sons two sorts of letters, the one called "*sacred*, the other, the common and *popular* ‡." Clemens Alexandrinus goes still farther, and describes the very books in which this *sacred alphabet* was principally employed: And as the place, where he explains this matter, is very curious, and contributes to the farther illustration of the subject, I shall consider it more at large. It hath been shewn that Clemens, in the passage quoted above, understood what he called the *sacerdotal*, ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ, to be an *alphabetic* character. Now the

* Plate VIII.

† Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι, Ἕλληνες μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά.—διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱερὰ, τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλεῦνται. Lib. ii. cap. 36.

‡ Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς γράμματα δύο, τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ τὰ κοινότερον ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. p. 51.

same

same writer speaking in another place * of the forty-two books of Hermes, which contained all the civil and religious science of the Egyptians, informs us, that ten of these books were called *sacerdotal*, and were the particular study of the chief priest,—προφάτης τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΑ καλούμενα ἱ βιβλία ἐκμανθάνει. These ten, therefore, were written in a *sacred alphabetic character*; though, as we learn from him in the same place, all the various kinds of *sacred characters* were employed in the composition of these forty-two books; for some were written in hieroglyphics; as he tells us, where he speaks of the sacred scribe, whose business it was to study those called *hieroglyphical*,—τοῦτον τά τε ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΑ καλούμενα· And, what is very remarkable, we find the subject of these to be of a popular and civil nature, such as cosmography, geography, the simple elements of astronomy, the chorography of Egypt, the description of the Nile †, &c. conformable to what has been laid down concerning the use and application of the most early hieroglyphics. Others again of these books were written in *symbols*, particularly those two which the chanter had in care:—ὁ ᾠδὸς ἓν τι τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιφερόμενος ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ· τοῦτον φασὶ δύο βίβλους ἀνειληφέναι δεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ. Here then we have all the three species of sacred writing, the *hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic* or *sacerdotal*; the last of which, as we hold, was by letters of an *alphabet*.

But an ALPHABET for secrecy, and consequently different from the vulgar, was a thing in use amongst the priesthood of almost all nations. Philo Biblius, in Eusebius, speaking of Sanchoniatho's history, tells us, that the author composed it by the assistance of certain records which he found in the temples written in AMMONEAN LETTERS ‡, not understood by the people: these Ammonean letters Bochart explains to be such as the

* Strom. lib. vi. pp. 633, 634. Edit. Colon. 1688.

† —περί τε τῆς κοσμογραφίας, καὶ γεωγραφίας, τῆς τάξεως τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ περὶ τῶν ε πλανωμένων· χωρογραφίαν τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου διαγραφῆς. Ibid.

‡ —ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὑρεθεῖσιν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμωνίων γράμμασι συνκειμένοις, ἃ δὴ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα.—Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 9.

priests

priests used in sacred matters *. Diogenes Laertius informs us, from Thrasyllus, that Democritus wrote two books, the one of the *sacred letters of the Babylonians*, the other of the *sacred letters of the city Meroë* †: and concerning these last, Heliodorus saith, that the Ethiopians had two sorts of letters, the one called *regal*, the other *vulgar*; and that the regal resembled the *sacerdotal* characters of the Egyptians ‡. Theodoret, speaking of the Grecian temples in general, says that they had certain forms of letters for their own use, called *sacerdotal* ||; and Fourmont, and others, suppose that this general custom prevailed among the Hebrews also ¶. Which opinion, a passage in Irenæus seems to support **.

And now we shall know how to deal with a strange passage †† of Manetho in Eusebius. This historian assures his reader, "that he took his information from "pillars in the land of Seriad, inscribed by Thoyth the "first Hermes, with *hierographic letters* in the *sacred* "*dialect*; and translated, after the flood, out of the "sacred dialect, into the Greek tongue, with HIERO-"GLYPHIC *letters*, and deposited in volumes by Aga-"thodæmon, the second Hermes, father of Tat, in the

* Ammoneorum, i. e. *Ammanim*—Abenezra in Levit. xxvi. 30. *Templa facta ad cultum Solis.* Quod verissimum; Sol enim Hebræis est *amma*, unde *amman* templum Solis, quem solum Cœli Dominum crediderunt prisci Phœnices. Sanchoniathon, τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸν ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον. Itaque hic præcipue cultus. Tamen, crescente superstitione, crediderim nomen *Ammanim* etiam ad alia delubra pertinuisse. Itaque *literæ Ammoneorum* seu *Ammanim* sunt literæ templorum, literæ in sacris receptæ. Geogr. Sacr. par. ii. lib. ii. cap. 17.

† See note [SS] at the end of this Book.

‡ Ἐπιλεγόμην τὴν ταινίαν γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς, ὑ δημοτικοῖς, ἀλλὰ βασιλικοῖς ἐστιγμένην, ἃ δὴ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΣ ὁμοιοῦνται. Lib. iv.

|| Ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ναοῖς ἴδιοι τινὲς ἦσαν χαρακτῆρες γραμμάτων, οἷς ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΥΣ προσηγόρευον. In Genes. Qu. 61.

¶ Cette coûtume de la plûpart des nations Orientales, d'avoir des Characteres Sacres, & des Caracteres Profanes ou d'un usage plus vulgaire, étoit aussi chez les HEBREUX. Reflex. Crit. vol. i. p. 36.

** Antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, quæ SACERDOTALES nuncupatæ, decem quidem fuere numero. Adver. Hær. l. ii. c. 41.

†† See Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. book i. chap. ii. § 11. and Mr. Shuckford's Connections, vol. i. ed. 2. p. 247.

"Adyta

" Adyta of the Egyptian temples." The original is in these words: Ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ τῇ Σεβεννύτῃ, ὃς ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἰδώλων, χρηματίσας ἐκ τῶν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾷ, φησὶ, διαλέκτῳ καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαραγμένων ὑπὸ Θωὺθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, παιδὸς δὲ τοῦ Τὰτ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγυπτίων*. Stillingfleet objects, with reason, to the absurdity of translating into the Greek tongue with hieroglyphic characters: and the author of the *Connections* well seeing that by γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς must be understood an alphabetic character, says the words should not be translated *hieroglyphics*, but *sacred letters*†: he might as well have said *Gothic letters*, ἱερογλυφικὰ being always used by the Ancients to denote characters for *things*, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters, composing *words*. It is certain the text is corrupt; as may be seen, 1. From the word γράμμασιν (which in strict propriety signifies the *letters of an alphabet*) its being joined to ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which denotes a species of *marks* for things. 2. From the mention of a *sacred dialect*, ἱερὰ διαλέκτῳ (of which more hereafter); for if these records were written in a *sacred dialect*, it is plain the character employed must be *alphabetic*; and so indeed it is expressed to be in the words ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι, which immediately follow; and if, out of this dialect, it were translated into another, must not alphabetic characters be still employed? And now we see not only that the present reading is wrong, but are led, by this last observation, to the right; the passage being without all question to be read thus:—μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ καὶ ἀποτεθεισῶν ἐν βίβλοις, &c.—γράμμασιν ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΙΣ, in speaking of the translation, being the very words just before employed in speaking of the original; and with great propriety: for ἱερογραφικὰ was used by the ancients as a generic term, to signify as

* Euseb. Chron. ed. Scal. Amst. 1658. p. 6.

† Connection of the Sacred and Profane History, vol. i. p. 274, and vol. ii. p. 294.

well

well *sacred letters* composing *words*, as *sacred marks* standing for *things*; ἱερογλυφικὰ not so, but denoting only *marks for things:* so that the plain and sensible meaning of the passage is, that a work, written by the first Hermes, in the *sacred dialect*, and *sacred letters*, was translated, by the second Hermes, into the *Greek dialect*; the original *sacred letters* being still employed. And the reason is evident; the Greek translation was for the use of the Egyptians: but such would be soonest invited to the study of a foreign dialect when written in their own letters: a common inducement for translators into a foreign language, to preserve the original character. Besides, this version was not for the Egyptians in general, but for the priests only; and therefore their peculiar character was preserved.

We now begin to see that the whole extravagance in this account, which made it rejected by the Critics with so much contempt, is only in the high antiquity given to the fact; and this, the very circumstance of the fact refutes: for it not only tells us of *sacred alphabetic letters*, which we have shewn to be of late use amongst the Egyptians, but likewise of a *sacred dialect*, which certainly was still later: And, if I be not much mistaken, a passage in Herodotus will lead us to the time when this translation was made. The historian tells us, that when Psammitichus, by the assistance of the Ionians and Carians, had subdued all Egypt, he placed these Greek adventurers on both sides the Nile; where he assigned them lands and habitations, and sent among them Egyptian youths to be instructed in the Greek language; from whence sprung the State-interpreters for that tongue *: Thus far the historian; from whose account of Psammitichus's project it appears, that his purpose was to

* —Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ, τοῖσι συλλαβοῦσαμένοισι αὐτῷ, ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρας ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τῷ Νείλῳ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντι.—καὶ δὴ παῖδας παρέδωκε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, οἱ νῦν Ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. Euterp. l. ii. c. 154. Hence it appears that the learned Dr. Prideaux was mistaken when he said—*But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek; the Ptolemys first brought that language amongst them*—Connection, part ii. lib. i. p. 12.

establish a constant intercourse with the Grecian nations. The youth picked out for interpreters were, without question, of the priesthood, all letters and learning residing in that order; which had likewise a great share in the public administration. And now the priesthood having the Greek tongue amongst them, which its use in public affairs would make them diligently cultivate; Where was the wonder that, about this time, some of these interpreters, Ἑρμηνέες, should employ themselves in translating the *sacred* Egyptian records into the Grecian language?

But then as to the precise time of the invention of EGYPTIAN LETTERS, it can never be so much as guessed at; because *hieroglyphics* continued to be in use long after that time; particularly on their public Monuments, where we find no appearance of alphabetic characters. However, that *letters* were very early, we have shewn above, as well from other circumstances, as from this, the giving the invention of them to the Gods *.

Those who are for deriving all civil improvements from the line of *Abraham*, of course, bestow upon it the invention of an ALPHABET. But as this fancy is only amongst the loose ends of an hypothesis, without any foundation in Scripture, these critics differ much about the time. Some suppose *letters* to have been in use amongst the Patriarchs; and, by them, transmitted to the Egyptians; but there are such strong objections to this opinion (to mention no other than the Patriarch's sending verbal messages where it was more natural as well as more expedient to send them written), that others have thought proper to bring down the time to that of MOSES †, when GOD, they say, taught him the use of *alphabetic* letters, in the exemplar of the two tables written, as the text assures us, *with the Finger of GOD*. But how, from words, which at most only imply that the Ten Commandments were miraculously engraved as well as dictated, it can be concluded that letters were then first invented. I have not logic enough to find out. A common reader would be apt to infer from it, that letters were now well

* See pp. 131, 132. of this volume.

† See note [TT] at the end of this Book.

known

known to the Israelites, as GOD had thought fit to deliver the first elements of their religion in that kind of writing; I say, he would be thus apt to infer, though MOSES had never spoken of them on other occasions (which he hath done) as of things in familiar use*: But if GOD was indeed the revealer of the artifice, how happened it that the history of so important a circumstance was not recorded? for, as we shall see presently, the *Memory* of it would have been one of the strongest barriers to idolatry.

However, though I think it next to certain that MOSES brought letters, with the rest of his learning, from Egypt, yet I could be easily persuaded to believe that he both enlarged the alphabet, and altered the shapes of the letters†. 1. The Hebrew alphabet, which he employed in the composition of the Pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt; he sojourned in Syria, and went from thence into Greece: His country shews that his letters were Egyptian; and this, their difference in number from the Hebrew, sufficiently confirms; Cadmus having only sixteen, and the Hebrew two and twenty. 2. That MOSES likewise altered the shape of the Egyptian letters I think probable; all hieroglyphic writing was absolutely forbidden by the second commandment, and with a view worthy the divine wisdom; hieroglyphics being, as we shall see hereafter, the great source of their idolatries and superstitions. But now alphabetic letters (which henceforth could be only used amongst the Hebrews) being taken by the Egyptians‡ from their hieroglyphic figures, retained, as was natural, much of the shapes of those characters: to cut off therefore all occasion of danger from symbolic images, MOSES, as I suppose, altered the shapes of the Egyptian letters, and reduced them into something like those simple forms in which we now find them. Those who in much later ages converted the northern Pagans to the Christian Faith observed the same caution. For the characters of the northern alphabet, called RUNIC, having been abused to magical superstition, were then changed to the

* See note [UU] at the end of this Book.
† See note [XX] at the end of this Book.
‡ See p. 122, of this Volume.

Roman.—Tantas in his *Runis* (says Sheringham) latere virtutes Gothi ante fidem susceptam rati sunt, ut sive hostium caput diris sacrandum, sive pestis morbique amoliendi, sive aliud opus suscipiendum se incantationibus *Runisque* muniebant—Post fidem vero susceptam *Runæ*, qui incantationibus præstigiisque magicis in tantum adhibitæ fuerint, adeo fastidiri cœperunt, ut multi libri, multaque antiqua monumenta exinde præpostero zelo dejecta atque deleta sunt: unde historia Getica magnum detrimentum clademque accepit. Tandem vero, teste Loccenio, Sigfridi episcopi Britannici opera (Papa etiam Romano suam operam præstante) eò res devenit ut *Runæ* in Succiâ A. DML. penitus abolerentur; & characteres Latini substituerentur *.

This account will reconcile the differing systems of Marsham and Renaudot; one of whom contends †, that the letters which Cadmus brought into Greece were Egyptian: the other, that they were Phenician ‡; and both of them appeal to the authority of Herodotus; who says plainly, "that the *alphabet brought by Cadmus into Greece was Egyptian*; and yet, speaking of the three most ancient inscriptions in Greece, he says, *they were in Phenician characters*, which very much resembled the Ionic:" for if what has been here supposed be allowed, then the alphabet which Cadmus carried with him was doubtless of Moses's invention, as to the *form*, but Egyptian, as to the *power*. It may be just worth observing, that Renaudot's discourse is full of paralogisms, which this solution detects.

3. To this let me add another consideration. The vowel-points (as seems now to be generally agreed on) were added since the Jews ceased to be a nation. The Hebrew language was originally, and so continued to be for a long time, written without them. Now if God first taught Moses an alphabet, can we believe that the vowels would have been thus generally omitted? But suppose Moses learnt his alphabet of the Egyptians, and only made it fuller, and altered the form of the letters, we may easily give a good account of the omission. The Egyptian alphabet, as we observed, was invented for

* De Ang. gent. orig. pp. 292, 293. † Can. Chron.
‡ Sur l'origine des lettres Grecques.

precision,

precision, and used for secrecy. Both ends were answered by an alphabet with hardly any vowels.

Thus we see that the form of alphabetic characters was a matter of much importance to the Hebrews, as to the integrity of their religion. If therefore GOD was the immediate author of them, it is difficult to suppose that Moses could omit to record the history of their invention; such a history being the best sanction to recommend their use; and the best security against a return to the idolatrous practice of hieroglyphic-writing; to which this people, so fond of Egyptian manners, were violently inclined.

But we have not yet done with Manetho; The last circumstance opening the way to another discovery of great importance in the Egyptian antiquities: for by this passage we find they had not only *sacred characters and letters*, but a *sacred* DIALECT or *language* also; for what he here calls ἱερὰ διάλεκτος, in another place (where he interprets a certain word in this language) he calls ἱερὰ γλῶσσα *. It might perhaps be imagined that this *sacred dialect* was only the more ancient Egyptian language; which being now grown into disuse, was preserved amongst the priesthood: But if we consider the small and slow change to which the Eastern languages were subject; especially that of a people who admitted so little of foreign manners, we can scarce believe this to have been the case. Besides, the *sacred dialect* was used for secrecy (being known only to the priests) which could never be the condition of a national language, how obsolete soever we may suppose it to be grown. All this considered, I take the *sacred dialect* to have been a language of their own framing: and one of their latest expedients for keeping their science to themselves. We have shewn how, for the sake of exactness, as they grew more speculative, they invented an alphabet to express their conceptions by marks for *words*, instead of marks for *things*: But the simple mystery of a peculiar alphabet, employed in a common tongue, would be soon de-

* Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν ἴθνος ΥΚΣΩΣ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστι βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ΥΚ κατ' ΙΕΡΑΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΝ βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ΣΩΣ ποιμένα ἐστι κ) ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ, κ) ὅτω συντιθέμενον γίνεται ΥΚΣΩΣ. Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. cap. 14.

tected;

tected; they therefore, as now it appears, invented a peculiar language for the use of their alphabet; and thus, under a double cover, effectually secured their hidden science. The way of framing the *sacred dialect*, I suppose, to be this: They called things by the names of their hieroglyphical representatives: Thus YK in the Egyptian tongue signifying a serpent; and a serpent, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king *, YK, as Manetho informs us above, signified a king in the *sacred dialect*: And in this manner, their hieroglyphics became a sufficient fund for a new language.

On the whole then it appears that the Egyptian priests had these three methods of secreting their recorded knowledge; by HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOLS, by a SACERDOTAL ALPHABET, and by a SACRED DIALECT. In explaining their several natures, and distinguishing them from the *proper hieroglyphic*, I have endeavoured to disembroil a subject which seems to have perplexed even the Ancients themselves; who, in their accounts of the Egyptian literature, perpetually confound the several species of *sacred writing* with one another. What greatly contributed to this confusion, I presume, was the sacerdotal practice of promiscuously using, in one and the same book or literary monument, the several various species of *sacred writing*; that is to say, the *proper hieroglyphic*, the *symbolic*, and the *hierogrammatic*; as was done in composing the Bembine table, and the mystic ritual described by Apuleius.

Thus we find how it happened that that which had its origin in *necessity*, came, in time, to be employed for *secrecy*, and was at length improved into an *ornament*. But now, in the incessant revolutions of things, this imagery, which was at first invented for open communication, and was from thence converted into mystery, at length resumed its primitive use; and, in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome, was employed in their monuments and medals as the shortest and plainest method of conveying men's conceits; and a SYMBOL, which, in Egypt, was pregnant with profound wisdom, was in those places the vocabulary of the people.

To illustrate these several changes and revolutions,

* Horapollo, lib. i. cap. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

we

we shall once again take up our instance from LANGUAGE (which still, in all its minuter alterations and improvements, ran parallel with WRITING); and shew, how the original expedient, to communicate our thoughts in converse, the rude effort of *necessity*, came in time, like the first hieroglyphics, to be turned into *mystery*, and afterwards improved into the arts of *eloquence* and persuasion.

I. It hath been already shewn, in the fable of Jotham, how the *Apologue* corresponded to the *proper Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and was invented only to present a sensible image to the unimproved conception of the hearer.

As the change of the object, which the fable introduced, made it exactly answer to the *tropical* hieroglyphic; so that sort of PROSOPOPOEIA, which the fable much employed, representing a multitude under the image of one, made it equally correspond with the *curiological* hieroglyphic.

II. But now, in after-times, either when men began to affect mystery, or their subject to require secrecy, they gradually changed the *Apologue* or fable, by quaint and far-fetched allusions, into a PARABLE, on set purpose to throw obscurity over the information; just as the *tropical hieroglyphic* was turned into the *tropical symbol*. We find innumerable instances of this mode of speech in Scripture: Thus GOD by the prophet Ezekiel:—"Son "of man, utter a PARABLE unto the rebellious house, "and say unto them, Thus saith the LORD GOD, Set "on a pot, set it on, and also pour water into it: gather "the pieces thereof into it, even every good piece, the "thigh and the shoulder, fill it with the choice bones. "Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones "under it, and make it boil well, and let them seeth "the bones of it therein *."

And in this manner was the *Parable* employed both amongst the Orientalists and Greeks: and thus the Jews understood it, as appears by the complaint of the prophet: "Ah, LORD! they say of me, Doth he not speak "PARABLES†?" and by this denunciation of our LORD himself; "Unto you it is given to know the *mysteries*

* Ezek. xxiv. 3, & seq. † Ib. xx. 49.

" of the kingdom of GOD; but to others in PARABLES; " that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might " not understand *." And thus that great master of Grecian eloquence, Demetrius Phalereus, explains it: " The allegory is used (says he) as a covering and dis- " guise to the discourse †."

III. We have observed, that the *Symbol*, the more it receded from the proper Hieroglyphic, the more it became obscure; till it divided itself, at length, into two sorts, the *tropical* and the *enigmatical:* Just so again it was with the *Parable*, which (answering to the *tropical symbol)* grew more and more mysterious, till it became a RIDDLE; and this again exactly corresponded to the *enigmatical* Hieroglyphic.

This, in sacred Scripture, is called a DARK SAYING, κατ' ἐξοχήν. For the nature of God's dispensation required enigmas; and the genius of those times made them natural. The prophet Ezekiel will furnish us with an example:—" And the word of the LORD (says he) " came unto me, saying, Son of man, put forth a RID- " DLE, and speak a *Parable* unto the house of Israel; " and say, Thus saith the LORD GOD, A great eagle " with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which " had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the " highest branch of the cedar; he cropt off the top of " his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traf- " fic ‡," &c. In the interpretation of these *Riddles* consisted much of the old Eastern Wisdom, according to the observation of the Wise-man: " A man of under- " standing (says he) shall attain unto wise counsels; to " understand a Proverb and the interpretation; the " words of the Wise and their DARK SAYINGS ‖." It was the custom too, as we learn from Scripture ¶ (and it lasted long, as we learn from Josephus **), for the Sages

* Luke viii. 10.

† —ὥσπερ συσκαλύμματί τῷ λόγῳ, τῇ ἀλληγορίᾳ κέχρηται. De Eloc. sect. 100.

‡ Ch. xvii. 2, & seq.

‖ Prov. i. 5, 6.

¶ Judges xiv. 12, 13, 14.

** Σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΩΔΕΙΣ διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν ὁδεῖν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε. Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. cap. 5.

of

of those times to send or offer RIDDLES to each other, for a trial of sagacity, to the exposition of which, rewards and penalties were annexed *; so that the present of a *riddle* was sometimes only a stratagem for a booty: hence, the *understanding dark sentences* became proverbial amongst the Hebrews to signify the arts of fraud and deceit; as may be collected from the character given by Daniel of Antiochus Epiphanes: "And in the "the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance "and UNDERSTANDING DARK SENTENCES shall stand "up †."

The mysterious cover to this kind of wisdom made it (as always such a cover will) the most high-prized accomplishment: so when the Psalmist would raise and engage the attention of his audience, he begins his song in this manner: "Hear, all ye people; give ear, all "ye inhabitants of the world: both low and high, rich "and poor together. My mouth shall speak of wis"dom, and the meditation of my heart shall be of un"derstanding. I WILL INCLINE MINE EAR TO A "PARABLE; I WILL OPEN MY DARK SAYING UPON "THE HARP ‡." For as a great Critic in sacred and profane learning rightly observes upon the place: *Psalmi hujus auctor, quo auditores attentos reddat, his promittit se de rebus maximis, & in quibus summa sapientia posita sit, dicturum; & in carmine hoc componendo artem quam potuit maximam adhibuit, ut materia dignum redderet* ||.

And as, in the improved art of WRITING by *Symbols*, the Egyptians (as well to give it the air of learning and elegance, as to cloud it with a variegated obscurity) studied all the singular *properties of beings*, and their *relations*, in order to fit them for representatives of other things; so in the art of SPEAKING, men soon began to adorn those modes of information just now mentioned

* Διὸς—τὸν δὲ τυραννεῦλα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν Ἔιραμον ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ, ἢ παρ' αὐτῶ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι, τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνειν.—Id. ib.

† Chap. viii. ver. 23. ‡ Psal. xlix. 4.

|| Psalmorum Liber in Versiculos metrice divisus, &c. Ed. Hare, Episc. Cicest. p. 265.

with

with *tropes and figures*; till at length Posterity began to doubt about the original of *figurative expression*; even as they had doubted about the original of *hieroglyphic painting*: whereas, in truth, the first, like the latter, owed its birth to mere want and rusticity; that is, a want of words, and rusticity of conception. To give an instance of the first want, in the PLEONASM; of the latter, in the METAPHOR: for Eastern speech abounds with these *figures*; they constitute its pride and beauty; and to excel in them, consists the art of their orators and poets.

1. The *Pleonasm* evidently arose from the narrowness of a simple language: the Hebrew, in which this figure abounds, is the scantiest of all the learned languages of the East: *Amant* (says Grotius) *Hebræi verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis exprimunt* *. He does not tell us the reason; but it is seen above, and appears to be the true: for when the speaker's phrase comes not up to his ideas (as in a scanty language it often will not), he naturally endeavours to explain himself by a repetition of the thought in other words; as he whose body is straitened in room is never relieved but by a continual change of posture. We may observe this to happen frequently in common conversation; where the conception of the speaker is stronger than his expression. The most scanty language therefore will be always fullest of repetitions, which is the only *copia* in *that* which Grotius speaks of.

2. The *Metaphor* arose as evidently from rusticity of conception, as the *pleonasm* from the want of words. The first simple ages, uncultivated, and immerged in sense, could express their rude conceptions of abstract Ideas, and the reflex operations of the mind, only by material images; which, so applied, became *metaphors*. This, and not the warmth of a florid and improved fancy, as is commonly supposed, was the true original of figurative expression. We see it even at this day in the style of the American savages, though of the coldest and most phlegmatic complexions, such as the Iroquois of the Northern continent; of whom a learned missionary says: "They affect a lively close expression, like

* In Hab. ii. 1.

"the

" the Lacedemonians; yet for all that their style is *figu-* " *rative*, and wholly *metaphorical**." Their phlegm could only make their style concise, not take away the figures; and the conjunction of these different characters in it, shews plainly that *metaphors* were from necessity, not choice. The very same character, in other words, Diodorus gives of the style of the ancient Gauls: *In conversation*, says he, *they use the utmost brevity, attended with a highly figurative obscurity: their speech abounds with a licentious kind of Synecdoche, which leaves much to the hearer to unriddle and divine; and also with hyperboles*†.

But we need not these far-fetched examples. He who will only reflect on what is so common as generally to escape reflection, may observe, that the common people are always most given to speak in figures. Cicero observed this long ago, where encouraging the use of *metaphors*, even in the simpler style, he says,—Translatione fortasse crebrior, qua frequentissime sermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, sed etiam *rusticorum*. Siquidem est eorum, *gemmare vites, sitire agros, lætas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta*. Nihil horum parum audacter, sed aut simile est illi, unde transferas: aut, si res suum nullum habet nomen, *docendi causa sumptum, aut ludendi videtur*‡. Hence too, the people's delight in that other figure of speech, PROVERBS, a passion not stronger in our own times than in those of Aristotle; who observes οἱ ΑΓΡΟΙΚΟΙ μάλιστα ΓΝΩΜΟΤΥΠΟΙ εἰσί. And the gross images under which proverbial truths in all languages are conveyed, shew they only delighted in their own inventions: for, to the People, it is certain, we are altogether indebted for this species of instruction.

It is true, when gross conception met with a warm imagination which delighted in painting strong and lively images, and was improved by exercise and use, figurative expression would be soon adorned with all the flourishes of wit. For WIT consists in using strong *metaphoric images* in uncommon yet apt allusions: just as

* See note [YY] at the end of this Book.

† See note [ZZ] at the end of this Book.

‡ Orator, cap. xxiv.

ancient

ancient Egyptian WISDOM did in *hieroglyphic symbols* fancifully analogized. Plato perhaps had something of this in his thoughts (if he had not, he had hardly any thing so good) when he observed to Alcibiades, that the *People was an excellent master of language**.

Thus we see it has ever been the way of men, both in *Speech* and *Writing*, as well as in Clothes and Habitations, to turn their wants and necessities into parade and ornament †.

IV. In the first parallel between *Speech* and *Writing*, we have compared *metaphors* to the *letters of an alphabet*; and how well the parallel runs may be further seen from hence: The Egyptians had, as has been shewn, two sorts of alphabetic letters, the one *popular*, the other *sacerdotal*; so had the Ancients in general two sorts of *metaphors*; one *open* and *intelligible*, another *hidden* and *mysterious*. The prophetic writings are full of this latter sort. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam: *There shall come a* STAR *out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel* ‡. This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David; but, without question, it belongs principally to Jesus: the metaphor of a *sceptre* was common and popular, to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, though it also signified, in the prophetic writings ||, a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise: a *star* in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted GOD ¶: and how much *hieroglyphic writing* influenced the *eastern languages* we shall see presently. Thus GOD, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt, says: "Ye have "born the tabernacle of your *Moloch*, and *Chiun* your "images, THE STAR OF YOUR GOD, which ye made to "yourselves **." *The star of your* GOD is a sublime figure to signify *the image of your* GOD; for a *star* being employed in hieroglyphics to signify GOD, it is used here with great elegance, to signify the material image of a

* See note [AAA] at the end of this Book.

† See note [BBB] at the end of this Book.

‡ Numb. xxiv. 17. || Dan. viii. 10.

¶ Ἀστὴρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γεγραμμένος ΘΕΟΝ σημαίνει. Horapol. Hierog. lib. ii. cap. 1. ** Chap. v. 25, 26.

GOD:

GOD: the words, *the star of your* GOD, being only a repetition, so usual in the Hebrew tongue, of the preceding, *Chiun your images.* Hence we conclude that the metaphor here used by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind; and is so to be understood; and consequently that it related only in the mysterious sense to CHRIST, the eternal son of GOD.

We have observed how *Symbols,* which came from open *Hieroglyphics,* lost their mysterious nature, and recovered again their primitive use in the flourishing ages of Greece and Rome. Just so again it was with the *Parable*; which coming from the simple *Apologue,* often returned to its first clearness, and became a proverb plain and intelligible to all. "In that day (says "the prophet Micah) shall one take up a *Parable* "against you*," &c. "Shall not all these (says Ha-"bakkuk) take up a *Parable* against him, and a taunt-"ing *proverb* against him, and say†," &c.

Thus WRITING and LANGUAGE, throughout all their various modes, ran exactly the same fortune: invented out of necessity, to communicate men's thoughts to one another; they were continued out of choice, for mystery and ornament; and they ended at last as they began, in the way of popular information.

Hitherto we have considered the *relation* only as they stand in an independent parallel; but as they are only two different ways of communicating the same conceptions, they must needs have a mighty influence upon one another. To explain this in the manner it deserves would require a just volume; and as a properer place may be found for it, when we come to consider the objections to the *style of Scripture,* it will be sufficient just to touch upon it at present.

1. The influence *Language* would have on the first kind of writing, which was *hieroglyphical,* is easy to conceive. Language, we have shewn, was, out of mere necessity, highly figurative, and full of material images; so that when men first thought of recording their conceptions, the writing would be, of course, that very picture which was before painted in the fancy, and from thence, delineated in words: Even long after,

* Chap. ii. 4. † Ibid. ver. 6.

when

when figurative speech was continued out of choice, and adorned with all the invention of wit, as amongst the Greeks and Romans, and that the genius of the simpler *hieroglyphic*-writing was again revived for ornament, in EMBLEMS and DEVICES, the poetic habit of personalizing every thing, filled their coins, their arches, their altars, &c. with all kinds of imaginary Beings. All the qualities of the mind, all the affections of the body, all the properties of countries, cities, rivers, mountains, became the seeds of living things: for,

—" as IMAGINATION bodied forth
" The forms of things unknown, the *artist's hand*
" Turn'd them to shape, and gave to airy nothing
" A local habitation and a name *."

2. The reciprocal influence *hieroglyphic writing* would have on *language* is as evident. The Chinese, we have seen, used this kind of writing, as well as the Egyptians; and the character given of their language is entirely correspondent: " The style of the *Chinese*, in their com-
" positions, (says Du Halde), is MYSTERIOUS, *concise*,
" ALLEGORIC, and sometimes *obscure*. They *say much*
" *in few words*. Their expressions are lively, ani-
" mated, and thick sown with *bold comparisons*, and
" *noble metaphors* †." Their style, we see, was *concise* and *figurative*; the very character, as we have seen, of all the barbarous nations upon earth, both ancient and modern; for Nature is ever uniform. The cold phlegmatic temper of the Chinese made their style short and *laconic*; the use of hieroglyphics made it *figurative*; and from this mixture it became *obscure*: but had those remote inhabitants of the East and West possessed the warm imagination of the proper Asiatics, then had their language, like that of the people spoken of above, abounded with *pleonasms* instead of *laconisms*. The old Asiatic style, so highly figurative, seems likewise, by

* Shakespeare.

† Le Stile des Chinois dans leurs compositions est *mysterieux*, concis, *allegorique*, & quelquefois obscur. Ils disent beaucoup de choses en peu de paroles. Leurs expressions sont vives, animées & semées de comparaisons hardies, & de metaphores nobles. Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 227. Paris, 1735.

what we find of its remains, in the prophetic language of the sacred writers, to have been evidently fashioned to the mode of ancient Hieroglyphics, both *curiologic* and *tropical*. Of the first kind are the figurative expressions of *spotted garments*, to denote iniquity; an *intoxicating draught*, to signify error and misery; the *sword and bow*, a warrior; a *gigantic stature*, a mighty leader; *balance, weights and measures*, a judge or magistrate; *arms*, a powerful nation, like the Roman. Of the second kind, which answers to the *tropical* hieroglyphic, is the calling empires, kings, and nobles, by the names of the *heavenly luminaries*, the *sun, moon, and stars*; their temporary disasters or entire overthrow, denoted by *eclipses and extinctions*; the destruction of the Nobility, by *stars falling from the firmament*; hostile invasions, by *thunder and tempestuous winds*; and leaders of armies, conquerors, and founders of empire, by *lions, bears, leopards, goats*, or *high trees*. In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a SPEAKING HIEROGLYPHIC.

These observations will not only assist us in the intelligence of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken that colouring for the peculiar workmanship of the speaker's heated imagination, which was the sober established language of their times; a language which GOD and his Son condescended to employ, as the properest vehicle of the high mysterious ways of Providence, in the revelation of themselves to mankind.

But to come to a conclusion. We must observe in the last place, that, besides the many changes which the ancient Egyptian *hieroglyphics* underwent, they at length suffered a very perverse corruption. It hath been already seen, how the MYSTERIES, that other grand vehicle of *Egyptian wisdom*, degenerated into *magic*: just so it happened with the HIEROGLYPHICS; for their characters being become, in a proper sense, sacred (as will be explained hereafter), it disposed the more superstitious to engrave them upon gems, and wear them as amulets or charms. But this abuse seems not to have been much earlier than the established worship of the God

God Serapis: which happened under the Ptolemys; and was first brought to the general knowledge of the world by certain Christian heretics*, and natives of Egypt, who had mingled a number of Pagan superstitions with their Christianity. These gems, called ABRAXAS, frequently to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, are engraven with all kinds of hieroglyphic characters. For this abusive original, we have the testimony of Rufinus the ecclesiastical historian, contemporary with St. Jerome: *Who can reckon up*, says he, *the horrid superstitions practised at Canopus? where under pretence of interpreting the* SACERDOTAL LETTERS, *for so they call the ancient Egyptian characters, a public school may be almost said to be opened for the teaching magical arts*†. Hence these characters came to be called *Chaldaic*, the Chaldeans being particularly addicted to magic. So Cassiodorus, speaking of the obelisks in the Roman circus, which were brought from Egypt, calls the inscriptions on them *Chaldaica signa*‡: To the *Abraxas* afterwards succeeded TALISMANS‖: which (mixed, like the other, with the dotages of judicial astrology) are held in high reverence to this day, in all Mahometan countries. And here let me observe, that from the low date of these kinds of charms may be seen the impertinence of what Sir John Marsham brings from late Greek and Roman writers, to confront and discredit the mysterious elevation of the brazen serpent in the wilderness¶.

But what must we think of KIRCHER, who hath mistaken these superstitions for the ancient Egyptian wisdom: and setting up with this magic, and that other of the *mysteries*, which the later Platonists and Pythagoreans had jumbled together, in the production of their fanatic-philosophy, soon ingrossed, in imagination, all

* See note [CCC] at the end of this Book.

† —*Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia? Ubi prætextu* SACERDOTALIUM LITERARUM, *ita enim appellant* antiquas Ægyptiorum literas, *Magicæ artis erat pene publica schola.* Eccles. hist. lib. ii. cap. xxvi.

‡ *Ubi sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis, quasi literis, indicantur.* Lib. iii. ep. 51. et lib. iii. ep. 2.

‖ See note [DDD] at the end of this Book.

¶ See note [EEE] at the end of this Book.

the

the treasures of Antiquity*? However, to be just, it must be owned that he was misled by the Ancients themselves; some of whom imagined that the very first *hieroglyphics* were tainted with this magical pollution, just as some Moderns would have the first *Mysteries* to be corrupted by debauched practices. So Lucan, speaking of the times before alphabetic writing, says,

"Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere Biblos
"Noverat, et *saxis* tantum, *volucresque* feræque
"Sculptaque servabant MAGICAS animalia LINGUAS."

Here, we see, the *abuse* and the *invention* are made coëval. An extravagant error, which the least attention to the history of the human mind and the progress of its operations might have prevented.

To conclude, I have here presumed to dispute an unquestioned proposition, *That the Egyptians invented hieroglyphics for the sake of secrecy.* It will be well if the evidence of the reasoning may excuse the singularity of the paradox. This is certain, the subject hath long remained in obscurity; and as certain, that I have, some how or other, been able to throw a little scattered light into the darkest corners of it. Whether the common opinion occasioned the obscurity, and the notion here advanced has contributed to remove it, is left for the candid reader to determine †.

III.

And now to apply this matter to the proof of our Proposition; for this long Discourse on *Hieroglyphic writing*

* The following are three of his six *Postulata* on which he founds his whole interpretation of the Egyptian *hieroglyphics*:—

1. *Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est quam arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisq; mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, saxis potissimùm insculpta.*

5. *Hieroglyphica Symbola non tantùm sublimium erant significativa sacramentorum; sed & naturalem quandam efficaciam habere credebantur, tum ad Genios bonos quibuscum occultam, & in abdita naturæ abysso latentem sympathiam habere putabantur, attrahendos; tum ad contrarios & antitechnos Genios, ob eorundem cum iis antipathiam, coërcendos profligandosque.*

6. *Hieroglyphica Symbola nihil aliud quàm prophylactica quædam signa, omnium malorum averruncativa, ob mirificum catenarum mundialium consensum connexionemque, esse existimabantur.*

(Edip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 4.

† See note [FFF] at the end of this Book.

is particularly given to deduce from its nature, origin, and use, an internal argument for the high antiquity of *Egyptian learning*.

Let us see then how the evidence stands: The true Egyptian learning, which the early Greek Sages brought from thence to adorn their own country, was, by the concurrent testimony of these writers, all contained in *Hieroglyphics*. They record a simple fact; and, in a fact of this nature, they could not be deceived; though in the causes of it they well might; and, as we have shewn, indeed were.—But hieroglyphic-writing thus invented, was improved into a contrivance to record their secret wisdom, long before an *Alphabet* was found out; and yet an alphabet was of so high and almost immemorial antiquity as to pass for an invention of the Gods: and consequently to deceive some men into an opinion that *Letters* were prior in time to *Hieroglyphics* *.

To this it may be objected, "That, as I pretend *Hieroglyphics* were not invented for secrecy, but afterwards turned to that use, and even employed in it, long after the invention of alphabetic letters, it might very well be, that this profound learning, which all agree to have been recorded in *Hieroglyphics*, was the product of ages much below the antiquity enquired after."

Now, not to insist upon the Grecian testimony, which makes the *learned hieroglyphics* coeval with the first race of kings; I reply, and might well rest the matter on this single argument,—That if at the invention of *letters*, much high-prized learning had not been contained in *Hieroglyphics*, but only plain memorials of civil matters, no plausible reason can be given why the Egyptians did not then discontinue a way of writing so troublesome and imperfect. It hath been shewn, that in the very early ages of the world, all nations, as well as the Egyptian, used to record the succession of time and revolutions of State in *hieroglyphic* characters: but, of these, none, besides the Egyptians, continued to write by marks for things, after the invention of *letters*. All others immediately dropt their hieroglyphics on the discovery of that more commodious method. The reason of which is plain; all others were totally unlearned

* See note [GGG] at the end of this Book.

in

in those periods of their existence preceding the knowledge of letters; consequently, as their hieroglyphics were employed in nothing but to record the rude annals of their history, they had no inducement to continue them: but at this remarkable æra, Egypt was very learned: and hieroglyphics being the repositories of its learning, these monuments would be in high veneration, and that veneration would perpetuate their use. There is but one example perhaps in the world, besides the Egyptian, where a people's learning was *first* recorded in *hieroglyphic* characters; and this one example will support our argument: the people I mean are the CHINESE; who, as the Missionaries assure us, bear such esteem and reverence for their *ancient character*, that, when they find it curiously written, they prefer it to the most elegant painting, and purchase the least scrap at an excessive price: they will not (we are told) apply the paper even of any common book, on which these characters are written, to a profane or vulgar use; and their joiners and masons do not dare to tear a printed leaf which they find pasted to the wall or wainscot*. Now if at length, these people should be prevailed on to use the more excellent way of writing with the letters of an alphabet, can any one doubt but that their Mandarins would still continue these venerable hieroglyphic characters in their works of Science and Religion? Thus, what we see would be the case here was without all question the case of the Egyptians; Characters become the vehicle of such treasures of learning must be in the highest reverence: and, indeed, the name of *Hieroglyphics*, under which they were delivered to the Greeks, shews they were in fact thus reverenced†. But that

* Ils preferent même un beau caractere à la plus admirable peinture, & l'on en voit souvent qui achetent bien cher une page de vieux caracteres, quand ils sont bien formez. Ils honorent leurs caracteres jusques dans les livres les plus ordinaires, & si par hasard quelques feüilles etoient tombées, ils les ramassent avec respect: ce seroit, selon eux, un grossiereté & une impolitesse, d'en faire un usage profane, de les fouler aux pieds en marchant, de les jetter même avec indifference; souvent il arrive, que les menuisiers & les maçons n'osent pas dechirer une feüille imprimée, qui se trouve collée sur le mur, ou sur le bois. Ils craignent de faire une faute. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Empire de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 228.

† See p. 120; and see note [HHHH] at the end of this Book.

learning which was contained in hieroglyphics, and was, of itself, sufficient to perpetuate their use, gave birth to a tradition which would effectually secure it; and this was, that *the* GODS *themselves invented hieroglyphic writing.*

On the whole, The argument drawn from their CONTINUED USE seems so sure a proof of the high antiquity of Egyptian learning in general, that one might safely rest the whole upon it: But to remove all cavil, I shall proceed to other, and, as I think, incontestable proofs of the antiquity of that *learning*, and particularly the *theologic:* the one taken from the true original of the art of ONIRO-CRITIC, or *interpretation of dreams*; and the other from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP: both of these fantastic superstitions being the genuine and peculiar growth of EGYPT.

I. The art of ONIROCRITIC, from whose *original* I deduce my first proof, made a very considerable part of ancient Pagan religion. Artemidorus, who lived about the beginning of the second century, and wrote a treatise on *Dreams*, collected from much earlier writers, divides *dreams* into two kinds, the *speculative* and the *allegorical**; the first kind is that which presents a plain and direct picture of the matter about which the Dream gives information; the second is an oblique intimation of it, by a tropical or symbolic image: This latter, which makes up the large farrago of dreams, is the only kind that needs an Interpreter; on which account Macrobius defines a *Dream* to be the notice of something *hid in allegory which wants to be explained*†.

So that the question will be, on what grounds or rules of interpretation the Onirocritics proceeded, when, if a man dreamt of a dragon, the Interpreter assured him it signified *majesty*; if of a serpent, a *disease*; a viper, *money*; frogs, *impostors*; pigeons and stock-doves, *women*; partridges, *impious persons*; a swallow, *sorrow*,

* Ἔτι τῶν ὀνείρων, οἱ μὲν, εἰσὶ θεωρηματικοὶ· οἱ δὲ ἀλληγορικοί. καὶ θεωρηματικοὶ μὲν, οἱ τῇ ἰδιότητι θέα παρεισάγοντες.—Ἀλληγορικοὶ δὲ, οἱ δι' ἄλλων ἄλλα σημαίνοντες.—Artemid. Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2.

† Somnium proprie vocatur, quod tegit figuris et velut ambagibus, non nisi interpretatione intelligendam, significationem rei quæ demonstratur.—In Somn. Scrip. lib. i. cap. 3.

death,

death, and *disaster*; cats, *adultery*; the ichneumon, *deceitful and mischievous men* *, &c. for the whole art of ancient *onirocritic* was concerned in these remote and mysterious relations. Now the early *Interpreters of dreams* were not juggling impostors; but, like the early judicial *Astrologers*, more superstitious than their neighbours; and so the first who fell into their own delusions. However, suppose them to have been as arrant cheats as any of their successors, yet at their first setting up they must have had materials proper for their trade; which could never be the wild workings of each man's private fancy. Their customers would look to find a known analogy, become venerable by long application to mysterious wisdom, for the groundwork of their deciphering; and the Decipherers themselves would as naturally fly to some confessed authority, to support their pretended Science. But what ground or authority could this be, if not the mysterious learning of *symbolic characters*? Here we seem to have got a solution of the difficulty. The *Egyptian priests*, the first interpreters of dreams, took their rules for this species of DIVINATION, from their *symbolic* riddling, in which they were so deeply read: A ground of interpretation which would give the strongest credit to the Art; and equally satisfy the Diviner and the Consulter: for by this time it was generally believed that their Gods had given them *hieroglyphic writing*. So that nothing was more natural than to imagine that these Gods, who in their opinion gave *dreams* likewise, had employed the same mode of expression in both revelations. This, I suppose, was the true original † of *onirocritic*, or the interpretation of those dreams called allegorical; that is, of dreams in general; for the wildness of an unbridled fancy will make almost all natural dreams to be of that kind. It is true, the Art being now well established, every age adorned it with additional superstitions; so that at length the old foundation became quite lost in these new incrustations.

If this account of its original stood in need of farther evidence, I might urge the rules of interpretation here given from Artemidorus, and a great many more which

* Vid. Artemidor. † See note [III] at the end of this Book.

might have been given; all of them conformable to the *symbolic hieroglyphics* in Horapollo.

Herodotus, in Clio, tells us, how Cyrus, dreaming that young Darius had WINGS on his shoulders, which, when spread out, shaded Asia and Europe, understood this dream by the assistance of his Interpreters, to signify (as we must needs conclude) a conspiracy formed against him by that young man. Now Sanchoniatho tells us * that in the most ancient *hieroglyphic writing*, a supreme governor was designed by a man with four WINGS, and his lieutenants or princes under him by a man with two: and that their being *out-stretched* signified action or design †.

But there is one remarkable circumstance which puts the matter out of all doubt. The technical term used by the Onirocritics for the phantasms seen in dreams, was ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ‡, *elements*. It would be hard to give a good account of the use of so odd a term on any other supposition than the derivation of onirocritic from symbolic writing. On that supposition it is easy and evident; for symbolic marks ‖ were called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ. Now when they used symbols to decipher dreams, nothing was more natural than to give the same significative images, on the stone and in the fancy, the same appellation.

The reason why the Egyptian priests (who, we have seen, used the Greek tongue very early) called their hieroglyphic and symbolic marks Στοιχεῖα, was because, in this way of writing, they employed all kinds of natural entities, to denote their mental conceptions; the proper signification of Στοιχεῖα being the first elements and principles of things, out of which all beings arise, and, of which, they are compounded §. Hence it came that *alphabetic* letters, which were an improvement on *hieroglyphics* and received their first shapes from hieroglyphic images, were called Στοιχεῖα.

So much for the *original* of onirocritic. To bring it to the point, we are next to consider its *antiquity*. Now

* See above, p. 122.
† See note [KKK] at the end of this Book.
‡ See note [LLL] at the end of this Book.
§ See note [MMM] at the end of this Book.
‖ See p. 120.

Scripture

Scripture leads us to the practice of this art as high up as the age of Joseph.

Pharaoh had two dreams *; one of *seven kine*, the other of *seven ears of corn*. We see both these phantasms [Στοιχεῖα] were *symbols* of Egypt: The *ears* denoting its distinguished fertility; the *kine*, its great tutelary patroness, Isis. Pharaoh knew thus much without an Interpreter; and hence arose his solicitude and anxiety to understand the rest, as a matter that concerned the Public: Accordingly, when Joseph† comes to decipher these dreams, he does not tell the king that the two *sevens* denoted *seven years in Egypt*, but simply *seven years*: The scene of the famine needed no deciphering. Unlike, in this, to the interpretation of Daniel, when Nebuchadnezzar saw in a dream *a fair and high tree*; which being the symbol of majesty in general, the prophet explains its particular meaning, "The tree that thou sawest—it is THOU, O king‡."

The argument therefore stands thus: the *Onirocritics* borrowed their art of deciphering from symbolic hieroglyphics.—But this could not be till hieroglyphics were become sacred, by being made the cloudy vehicle of their Theology; because, till then, hieroglyphics had neither authority enough to support the credit of those interpretations, nor a perplexity sufficiently copious to support the mystery of this application.—But by the time hieroglyphics were become sacred, Egypt was very learned.—Now they were sacred in the days of Joseph, as appears from the use of interpreting dreams according to those Symbols.—Therefore *learned Egypt of very high antiquity.*

II. My second argument for this antiquity is deduced from the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP; and stands thus: We have observed, that in those improved hieroglyphics, called *Symbols* (in which, it is confessed, the ancient Egyptian learning was contained) the less obvious properties of animals occasioned their becoming marks, by analogical adaption, for very different ideas, whether of substances or modes; which plainly intimates that

* Gen. xli.

† See note [NNN] at the end of this Book.

‡ Dan. iv. 19, 20, 21.

physical knowledge had been long cultivated. Now these symbols I hold to be the true original of ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt. But animal worship was the *established worship* in the time of MOSES, as is evident from the book of *Exodus*: Therefore the Egyptian learning was of this high antiquity *. The only proposition, in this argument, that needs any proof, is the first. The reasons therefore which induce me to think *symbolic writing* to be the sole origin of *Animal-worship* are these:

1. This kind of idolatry was peculiar to the *Egyptian* superstition; and almost unknown to all the Casts of paganism, but such as were evidently copied from that original †: MOSES treats it as their distinguishing superstition ‡: The Greeks and Romans, though at a loss for its original, yet speak of it as the peculiar extravagance of *Egypt*: And the most intelligent of the moderns consider it in the very same light ||.

2. The *Egyptians* not only worshipped *Animals*, but PLANTS; and, in a word, every kind of being that had qualities remarkably singular or efficacious; because all these had found their place in symbolic writing: For, as hath been shewn, when Hieroglyphics came to be employed for mystery, no sooner was one symbol grown common and vulgar, than another was invented of a more recondite meaning: so that the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, would be all explored to paint the histories of their Gods.

* See note [OOO] at the end of this Book.

† Such as the several Gentile nations of Palestine and India.

‡ Deut. iv. 14—21.

|| The learned Fourmont thus expresses himself:—*Mais pour parler simplement & sans fard, il faudra bon gré malgré en revenir à ceci, que les Egyptiens etoient, at, s'ils pensoient un peu, devoient se croire eux mêmes un peuple fort extravagant; on n'apotheose point sans folie les Oignons et les Asperges: que pensez encore des Dieux Oiseaux, Poissons, Serpens, Crocodiles? mais non-seulement ils avoient deifié les animaux; ce qui est plus etrange encore, infatuez de la Metempsycose, ils s'etoient enthousiasmez la dessus de Mystagogies incomprehensibles. Leurs pretres, par un zele qu'on ne connoit pas trop, s etoient rendus les Predicateurs de ces mêmes folies; & ils en avoient dans leurs conquêtes, ou par des missions,* infecté tout l'Inde, toute la Chine, tout le Japon. *Reflex. Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuples*, tom. i. p. 227.

3. Besides

3. Besides the adoration of almost every thing existing, the *Egyptians* worshipped a thousand Chimeras of their own creation: Some with human bodies, and the head or feet of brutes; others with brutal bodies, and the heads or feet of men; while others again were a fantastic compound of the several parts of beasts, birds, and reptiles, terrestrial and aquatic; For besides the simpler method, in hieroglyphic writing, of expressing their hero-gods by an intire plant or animal, there were two others which the more circumstantial history of those deities brought in use. Thus when the subject was only one single quality of a god or hero, the human shape was only partially deformed *; as with the head of a dog, hawk, or ram, to denote fidelity, vigilance, or strength; with the feet and thighs of a goat, to represent rusticity, agility, or lust; and this gave being to their Anubis, Pan, and Jupiter Ammon: But where the subject required a fuller catalogue of the hero's virtues or useful qualities, there they employed an assemblage of the several parts of various animals: each of which, in hieroglyphic writing, was significative of a distinct property: in which assemblage, that animal, more peculiarly representative of the God, was most conspicuous. This will explain the verse of *Anticlides* in his hymn to the sun,

Ἥλιος δὲ Νότοιο Ἄναξ ΙΕΡΑΞ ΠΟΛΥΜΟΡΦΕ.

The sun was generally expressed by a *hawk*; but this *symbolic hawk*, under various considerations, had the various parts of other animals added to it.

4. That animal which was worshipped in one city was sacrificed in another. Thus, though at Memphis they adored the ox, at Mendes the goat, and at Thebes the ram; yet, in one place or other, each of these animals was used in sacrifice: but bulls and clean calves were offered up in all places. The reason of this can only be that at Memphis the ox was, in hieroglyphic learning, the symbol of some deity; at Mendes the goat; and at Thebes the ram; but the bull and calf no where:

* Εἴκασται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τις μέχρι τραχήλου ἀνθρωποειδὴς τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον ὄρνιθος, ἢ λέοντος, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ζῴου κεκλημένου· καὶ πάλιν αὖ κεφαλὴ ἀνθρωπείους, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ζῴων μέρη ἔχει· μὲν ὑποκείμενα, ἃ δὲ ἐπικείμενα. Porph. de Abst. l. iv.

For

For what else can be said for the original of so fantastical a diversity in *representative* deities within a kingdom of one national religion?—But farther: the same animal was feasted in one place, with divine honours; in another it was pursued with the direst execrations. Thus, at Arsinoë, the crocodile was adored; because having no tongue it was made in hieroglyphic writing the symbol of the divinity *; elsewhere it was had in horror, as being made in the same writing the symbol of Typhon †; that is, it was used as a *sacred character* in the history both of their *natural* and *civil* Theology.

5. Brute-worship was, at *first*, altogether objective to their hero-gods; of whom animals were but the representatives. This is seen from the rank they hold on ancient monuments; from the unvaried worship of some few of them, as the *Apis*, which still continued to be adored as the representative of Osiris:—and from the express testimony of Herodotus; who says, that, when the Egyptians addressed the sacred Animal, their devotions were paid to that God to whom the beast belonged ‡.

6. But to make the matter still plainer, it may be observed, that the most early brute-worship in Egypt was not an adoration of the living animal, but only of its picture or image. This truth Herodotus seems to hint at in Euterpe, where he says, the Egyptians erected the first altars, images, and temples to the gods, and carved the FIGURES OF ANIMALS on stones ||. Now, were the original of brute-worship any other than what is here supposed, the living animal must have been first

* Plutarch, in general, tells us, that the Egyptians thus considered the crocodile; but this author, for private ends, delivering a false original of Animal-worship, it was not to his purpose to tell us it was so considered in *symbolic writing*:—ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁ Κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιθανῆς ἀμοιρῆσαν ἴσχηκε τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ ὡς μίμημα θεῦ λέγεται γενέσθαι, μόνος μὲν ἄγλωσσος· ὢν φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀπροσδεής ἐστι—De Is. & Osir.

† The subsequent doctrine of the *Metempsychosis* soon made this the foundation of a fable, that the soul of *Typhon* had passed into a crocodile,—that *Typhon* had assumed that figure, &c. See Ælian's Hist. of Animals, lib. x. cap. 21.

‡ Οἱ δὲ ἐν πᾶσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τὰς δί σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τῦ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον—lib. ii. c. 65.

|| Βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποτεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγλύψαι. c. 4.

worshipped,

worshipped, and the image of it would have been only an attendant superstition. From the SECOND COMMANDMENT, and Moses's exhortation to obedience, it appears that the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, worshipped no living animal, but the picture or image only: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me. Thou "shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any "likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or that is "in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the "earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, "nor serve them *." Thus speaks the law of the first table; by which we not only see that brute-worship was under an image, but that such image was symbolical of Gods different from the animal pictured, and alluded to in the words, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.* Another thing observable in the law is, that not only the making pictures and images for adoration was forbidden, but the simple making of them at all. And thus the Jews understood it. The consequence was, that *hieroglyphics* were forbidden: a strong proof of their being the source of the idolatry in question. MOSES, in his exhortation to the people, paraphrases and explains this law: "Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourselves (for "ye saw *no manner of similitude on the day that the* "*LORD spake to you in* Horeb, out of the midst of the "fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves and make you a graven "image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of *male* "*or female*, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, "the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, "the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, "the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the "earth †." There are two important conclusions to be drawn from the reason of this exhortation, *for you saw no manner of similitude, &c.* The first is, that the Egyptian brute-worship was *symbolical*; the other, that MOSES's prime intention was to warn the people against representing the GOD of Israel under the shape of men or animals, in the guise of the greater Gods of Egypt.

* Exod. xx. 3, 4, 5.
† Deut. iv. 15, 16, 17, 18.

This

This observation will open our way to another circumstance, which shews that the worship of the *living animal* was not yet in use amongst the Egyptians; and that is, the idolatrous erection of the *golden calf**. The people now suspecting they had lost MOSES, whom they were taught to consider as the vicegerent, or representative of their GOD, grew impatient for another; and, besotted with Egyptian superstitions, chose for his representative the same which the Egyptians used for the symbol of their great God, Osiris. Interpreters seem to run into two different extremes concerning this matter, some conceiving that the Israelites worshipped an Egyptian God under the *golden calf*; though the worshippers themselves expressly declare the contrary: "These (say they) be thy "Gods, *O Israel*, which brought thee up out of the land "of Egypt†." Others suppose the *calf* was not made in imitation of any Egyptian symbol whatsoever, because it was the living Apis that represented Osiris; but we see the worship of the living animal was not yet introduced. However, in time, and in no long time neither, for it was as early as the Prophets, the Egyptians began to worship the *animal itself*; which worship, as might be well expected, prevailed at length over that of its image. *Colunt effigies multorum animalium, atque ipsâ* MAGIS *animalia*, says Pomponius Mela ‡ of the Egyptians; and this naturally gave birth to new superstitions; for, as he goes on, *Apis populorum omnium numen est. Bos niger, certis maculis insignis—raro nascitur*, nec coitu pecoris (*ut aiunt*) sed divinitus & cœlesti igne conceptus.

These considerations are sufficient to shew that *hieroglyphics* were indeed the original of *brute-worship*: And how easy it was for the Egyptians to fall into it from the use of this kind of writing, appears from hence. In these hieroglyphics was recorded the history of their greater, and tutelary deities, their kings and lawgivers; represented by animals and other creatures. The symbol of each God was well known and familiar to his worshippers, by means of the popular paintings and engravings

* See note [PPP] at the end of this Book.

† Exod. xxxii. 4. ‡ De sit. orb. lib. i. cap. 6.

gravings on their temples and other sacred monuments *: so that the symbol presenting the idea of the God, and that idea exciting sentiments of religion, it was natural for them, in their addresses to any particular deity, to turn towards his representative, mark or symbol. This will be easily granted if we reflect, that when the Egyptian priests began to speculate, and grow mysterious, they feigned a *divine original* for hieroglyphic characters, in order to render them still more august and venerable. This would, of course, bring on a *relative* devotion to these symbolic figures; which, when it came to be paid to the living animal, would soon terminate in an *ultimate* worship.

But the occasional propensity to this superstition was, without question, forwarded and encouraged by the Priesthood; for it greatly supported the worship of the hero-deities, by making their theology more intricate; and by keeping out of sight, what could not but weaken religious veneration in remote posterity, the naked truth, that they were only DEAD MEN DEIFIED. And these advantages they afterwards improved with notable address; by making those Symbols as well relative to new conceived imaginary qualities and influences of their first *natural gods*, the host of heaven, as to what they properly respected, in hieroglyphic writing, their later heroes and tutelary deities; Which trick, invented to keep the Egyptians in their superstition, spread so impenetrable an obscurity over paganism, as hindered the most sagacious Philosophers and knowing Antiquaries of Greece from ever getting a right view of the rise and progress of their own idolatry.

And, if I be not much mistaken, it was the design of these Egyptian priests to commemorate the advantages of this contrivance in the celebrated fable † of TYPHON'S WAR WITH THE GODS; who, distressed and terrified by this earth-born giant, fled from his persecution into

* This account is supported by Herodotus, where saying that the *Egyptians first of all raised altars, statues, and temples to the gods*, he immediately adds, and *engraved animals on stone*: βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποτίμαι σφίας πρώτους, καὶ ΖΩΑ ΕΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣΙ ΕΓΓΛΥΨΑΙ. L. ii. c. 4.

† Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 54. Steph. Ed. informs us, that this was an Egyptian fable: as does *Lucian*, in his tract *De Sacrificiis*.

EGYPT;

EGYPT; and there hid themselves each under the form of a several ANIMAL. This adventure is related by Ovid in a very agreeable and artful manner, where he makes one of the impious Pierides sing it, in their contest with the Muses:

Bella canit superûm: Falsoque in honore gigantes
Ponit, & extenuat magnorum facta deorum;
Emissumque ima de sede Typhoëa terræ
Cœlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugæ: donec fessos ÆGYPTIA *tellus*
Ceperit, & septem discretus in ostia Nilus.
Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhoëa narrat,
Et se MENTITIS *superos celasse* FIGURIS:
Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Jupiter: UNDE recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon.
Delius in corvo, proles Semeleïa capro,
Fele soror Phœbi, nivea Saturnia vacca,
Pisce Venus latuit, Cyllenius Ibidis alis *.

Typhon, amongst the Egyptians, was the exemplar of impiety: so that under that name we are to understand the *inquisitive*, which the priests always surnamed *the impious* (such who in after-times followed the celebrated Euhemerus of Greece); these, in a malicious search into the genealogies of their Gods, had so near detected their original, and consequently endangered their worship, that the priests had nothing left but to perplex and embroil the enquiry, by encouraging the SYMBOLIC worship as explained above. Hence this fable (in which they celebrated the subtilty of their expedient) that Egypt afforded a place of refuge for the Gods; who there lay hid under the *forms of beasts*. Where we must observe, that the shape each God was said to have assumed was that of his symbolic mark in hieroglyphic writing †. Indeed Antonius Liberalis ‡ differs from Ovid in the particular transformations; and Lucian ‖, from them both; but this rather confirms than weakens our interpretation; since each God, as we have seen, was denoted by divers hieroglyphics. We must not suppose,

* Metam. lib. v. fab. 5.
† See note [QQQ] at the end of this Book.
‡ Cap. xxviii. ‖ De Sacrif.

however,

however, that the whole of their distress came from the quarter of their enemies. More favourable enquirers would be a little troublesome. And the same expedient would keep them at a distance likewise. The Priests seem to have hinted at this case likewise, in the similar story they told Herodotus, "that Hercules was very desirous to see Jupiter, who was by no means consenting to this interview; at last overcome by the hero's importunity, he eluded his curiosity, by this expedient: he flayed the carcass of a ram; and investing himself with the skin separated with the head from the body, he presented himself under that appearance to the inquirer *." Herodotus himself seems to hint at something like the explanation of the fable of Typhon given above, where speaking of Pan soon after, and on the same occasion, he says, "The Egyptians represent Pan as the Grecians "paint him, with the face and legs of a goat. Not that "they imagine this to be his real form, which is the same "with that of the other Gods. But I take no satis-"faction in recording the reason they give for repre-"senting him in this manner †." From these two different ways of relating the circumstance of Jupiter's and Pan's disguises under a brutal form, it appears that the Egyptian priests had two accounts concerning it, the exoteric and the esoteric. Herodotus, in the story of Jupiter, makes no scruple to record the first; but the other, which concerns Pan's transformation, he did not care to touch upon.

If this explanation of the famous fable of Typhon needed any further support, we might find it in what the Egyptian Theologers continued to deliver down concerning it. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the difficulty in discovering the true original of Egyptian brute-worship, says, that the priests had a profound secret concerning

* Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ἰῶν ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἐπεί τε λυπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπολαμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νώτον, οὕτω δὴ ἐωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. Lib. ii. c. 3.

† —τῷ Παιὸς τῶγαλμα, κατάπερ Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα. οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομιζόντες εἶναί μιν, ἀλλ' ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι. ὅτεω δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι ἀνδρὸς, οὐ μοι ἡδὺ ἐστι λέγειν. Lib. ii. c. 46.

it:

it*: A strong presumption that this here delivered was the secret; it being the only one which the Priests were much concerned to keep to themselves; as we shall see when we come to speak of the *causes* assigned by the Ancients for brute-worship. What the Priests thought fit to intrust to the people concerning this matter, the Sicilian tells us, was this; *That the Gods of the early times being few in number, and so forced to yield to the multitude and injustice of earth-born men, assumed the forms of divers Animals, and by that means escaped the cruelty and violence of their enemies; but that, at length, gaining the empire of the world, they consecrated the species of those Animals whose forms they had assumed, in gratitude for that relief which they had received from them in their distresses* †. The moral of the fable lies too open to need an Interpreter: it can hardly, indeed, be any other than that we have here given. But Diodorus aids us in the discovery of that secret, which he himself appears not to have penetrated, where he says that Melampus, who brought the *Mysteries of Proserpine* from Egypt into Greece, taught them the story of TYPHON, and *the whole history of the disasters and sufferings of the Gods* ‡. Now we have shewn ‖ that one part of the office of the *Hierophant* of the Mysteries was to reveal the true original of Polytheism: which instruction could not be conveyed more appositely, than in the history of *Typhon*, as here explained. From the whole then, we conclude, that *this* was indeed the *profound secret*, which the Egyptian priests had concerning it. So that the passage of Diodorus, last quoted, not only supports our interpretation of the *fable of Typhon*, but of the *secret of the Mysteries* likewise.

Only one thing is worth our notice, that the Priests

* Οἱ μὲν Ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἀπόῤῥητόν τι δόξμα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσιν.—Lib. i. p. 54.

† Φασὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένας θεὰς, ὀλίγας οὔσας καὶ ἰσχυομένας ὑπὸ τῶν πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ τῶν ζώων, καὶ διὰ τοιούτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ὠμότητα καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν καλὰ τὸν κόσμον πάλιν κραίνησάντας καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντας, ἀφιερῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν οἷς ἀφωμοιώθησαν.—Lib. i. p. 54.

‡ τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. Lib. i.

‖ Div. Leg. Vol. ii. pp. 188, &c.

should

should think fit to give the people this curious origin of brute-worship: We have observed, that they promoted and encouraged this Brutal-idolatry in order to hide the weakness of their Hero-worship; but then some reason was to be given for that more extravagant superstition: so, by a fine contrivance, they made the *circumstances* of the fable, by which they would commemorate their address in introducing a new superstition to support the old, a *reason* for that introduced support. This was a fetch of policy worthy of an Egyptian priesthood.

But let us hear what the Ancients in general have to say concerning the beginning of *brute-worship*. Now the Ancients having generally mistaken the origin of *Hieroglyphics*, it is no wonder they should be mistaken in this likewise: and how much they were mistaken, their diversity and inconstancy of opinion plainly shew us: And yet, amidst this diversity, the cause here assigned hath escaped them; which had otherwise, 'tis probable, put an end to all farther conjecture. But as they chanced to fall into variety of wrong opinions, it will be incumbent on me to examine and confute them. What I can at present recollect as any way deserving notice, are the following:

They suppose brute-worship to have arisen,

1. From the *benefits* men receive of animals.
2. From the doctrine of the *metempsychosis*.
3. From the use of *asterisms*.
4. From the notion of GOD's *pervading all things*.
5. From the use of Animals as *Symbols* of the divine nature.
6. From the invention of a certain Egyptian king for his private ends of *policy*.

These, I think, are all the opinions of moment. And of these, we may observe in general, that the fourth and fifth are least wide of the truth, as making brute-worship *symbolical*: But the defect, common to them all, is that the reason assigned by each concludes for the universality of this worship throughout paganism; whereas it was in fact peculiar to Egypt; and seen and owned to be so by these very Ancients themselves.

I. The first opinion is that we find in CICERO *, who supposes the original to be *a grateful sense of benefits received from animals.*

1. This labours under all the defects of an inadequate cause, as concluding both too much, and too little: Too much; because, on this ground, brute-worship would have been common to all nations; but it was peculiar to the Egyptian and its colonies: Too little; 1. Because on this ground none but useful animals should have been worshipped; whereas several of the most useless and noxious † were held sacred. 2. *Plant-worship* must then, in the nature of things, have been prior to, or at least coëval with, that of *brutes.* But it was much later; and, on our theory, we see how this came to pass; the *vegetable* world would not be explored, to find out hieroglyphical analogies, till the *animal* had been exhausted.

II. Neither could *the doctrine of the metempsychosis,* mentioned by DIODORUS ‡, be the origin of brute-worship: 1. Because that opinion was common to all nations; but brute-worship peculiar to Egypt. The doctrine of the *metempsychosis* flourisheth, at this day, with greater vigour in India, than, perhaps, it ever did in any place or age of the world; yet it occasions no worship, or religious veneration to those animals which are supposed the receptacles of departed souls. A very excessive charity towards them it does indeed afford. And this is the more remarkable, not only as this people are sunk into the most sordid superstitions, but because, having learnt animal-worship of Egypt ‖, if the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* had any natural tendency to inflame that superstition, they had by this time been

* See note [RRR] at the end of this Book.

† See note [SSS] at the end of this Book.

‡ Diodorus delivers this original, in his account of the superstitious worship of the Apis: Τῆς δὲ τοῦ βοὸς τούτου τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔνιοι φέρουσι, λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος, εἰς τοῦτον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ μεθέστη, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα διαπαντὸς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ καλὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεθιστάμενα πρὸς τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους. Lib. i. p. 54.

‖ As appears from hence, that those few animals, which are the objects of their religious worship, are such as were formerly most reverenced in Egypt; and into such, no souls are doomed by the law of transmigration; the reason of which we shall see presently.

totally

totally devoted to it. 2. Because the hypothesis which makes *transmigration* the origin of brute-worship, must suppose brutes to be venerated as the receptacle of *human* souls become deified: but the ancient Egyptians deified none but *heroic* and *demonic* souls: and souls of this order were not supposed subject to the common law of the *metempsychosis* *. 3. The intrusion of those souls into brutal bodies, according to the law of transmigration, was understood to be a punishment for crimes. Their prison-house therefore could never become the object of adoration; but rather of aversion and abhorrence; as all *subterraneous* fire was amongst the ancient Romans, and as that of *purgatory* is amongst the modern. 4. Lastly, the doctrine of the *metempsychosis* was much later than the first practice of brute-worship; and evidently invented to remove objections against Providence †, when men began to speculate and philosophise. What seems to have given birth to this opinion of the origin of brute-worship, was the fancy of the later Egyptians, that the soul of Osiris resided in the Apis. Diodorus himself supports the conjecture: For, reckoning up the several opinions concerning the origin of brute-worship, when he comes to that of the *metempsychosis*, he delivers it in a popular relation of the soul of Osiris residing in the Apis.

III. The third opinion we find to be favoured by LUCIAN ‡: which is, that *the Egyptian invention of distinguishing the Constellations, and marking each of them with the name of some animal, gave the first occasion to brute-worship.* But, 1. the same objection lies

* The difference between *heroic*, *demonic*, and *human* souls, as it was conceived by the most early pagans, will be explained hereafter.

† See Vol. III. Book iii. § 3.

‡ Οἱ δὲ [Αἰγύπτιοι] καὶ ἄλλα ἐμήσαντο πολλῷ μείζω τηλίκων· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῶ παντὸς ἠέρος, καὶ ἀστέρων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπλανέων τε καὶ εὐσταθίων, καὶ ἐδ' ἅμα κινουμένων, δυώδεκα μοίρας ἐτάμοντο ἐν τοῖσι κινουμένοισι, καὶ οἰκία ζῶα ἐοντα, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐς ἄλλην μορφὴν μεμιμέαλαι— ἀπὸ τέων δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια πολυειδέα ποιέεται· ἢ γὰρ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα μοιρίων πασέων ἐμαθεύοντο, ἄλλοι δέ, ἀλλοίησι μοίρῃσιν ἐχρέοντο· καὶ κριὸν μὲν σέβεσθαι, ὁκόσοι ἐς κριὸν ἀπέβλεπον· ἰχθύας δὲ ἢ σιτέεσθαι, ὁκόσοι ἰχθύας ἐπεσημήναντο· ἐδὲ τράγον κλέπτειν, ὅσοι αἰγόκερων ἤδεσαν— καὶ μὴν καὶ Ταῦρον ἐς τιμὴν τῇ ἠερίῃ Ταύρῃ σεβίζεσθαι. De Astrologia, t. ii. p. 363. edit. Reitzii, Amst. 4to. 1743.

against this solution as against the two preceding: for this way of distinguishing the Asterisms was in use in all nations; but brute-worship was confined to Egypt and its colonies. 2. This way of solving the difficulty creates a greater: for then nothing will be left in antiquity *, to account for so extraordinary a custom as the giving to one Constellation the form of a ram, to another the form of a scorpion, &c. when, in the apparent disposition of those stars, there was not so much resemblance to any one part of any one animal as was sufficient to set the fancy on work to make out the rest. But if, for distinction sake, those things were to have a name which had no shape †, why then, as being of such regard from their supposed influences, were they not rather honoured with the titles of their heroes than of their brutes? Would the polite Egyptian priests, who first animalized the Asterisms, do like Tom Otter in the comedy, bring their *Bulls* and *Bears* to court? would they exalt them into heaven, before they had made any considerable figure upon earth? The fact is, indeed, just otherwise. It was brute-worship which gave birth to the Asterisms. That the constellations were first named and distinguished by the Egyptians, is agreed on all hands: that they were much later than the beginning of brute-worship, is as evident; the confused multitude of stars not being thus sorted into bands, till the Egyptian priests had made some considerable progress in astronomy: But brute-worship, we know from Scripture, was prior to the time of Moses. When they began to collect the stars into Constellations, a name was necessary to keep up the combination; and animals, now become the religious symbols of their Gods, afforded the aptest means for that purpose: For, 1. It did honour to their heroes: 2. It supported their *astrology* (which always went along, and was often confounded with, their *astronomy*),

* I say, in Antiquity: for as to the solution of this point by the liberty of imagining, nothing is more easy. The French author of the History of the Heavens has, by the mere force of imagination, removed all these difficulties; not only without any support from Antiquity, but even in defiance of it.

† Εἴδεα σημαίνοιεν ἄφαρ δ' ὀνόματα γένοιτο
Ἄστρα - - - - *Arat. in φαινομ.*

it

it being understood to imply that their country Gods had now taken up their residence in Constellations of benignant influence.

IV. Nor is there any better foundation for the fourth opinion; which is that of PORPHYRY*; who supposes, that *the doctrine of* GOD'S *pervading all things was the original of brute-worship.* But, 1. It proves too much: for according to this notion, every thing would have been the object of divine worship amongst the early Egyptians; but we know many were not. 2. According to this notion, nothing could have been the object of their execration; but we know many were. This notion was never an opinion of the people, but of a few of the learned only: 4. And those, not of the learned of Egypt, but of Greece. In a word, this pretended original of brute-worship was only an invention of their late Philosophers, to hide the deformities, and to support the credit of declining Paganism.

V. Akin to this, and invented for the same end, is what we find in JAMBLICHUS†; namely, *That brutes were deified only as the symbols of the first Cause, considered in all his attributes and relations.* Groundless as this fancy is, yet as it is embraced by our best philologists, such as Cudworth, Vossius, and Kircher, on the faith of those fanatic and inveterate enemies to Christianity, Porphyry and Jamblichus, I shall endeavour to expose it as it deserves. This will be the best done by considering the rise and order of the *three great species of idolatry.* The first, in time, was, as we have

* Ἀπὸ δὲ παύτης ὁρμώμενοι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειώσεως, ἔγνωσαν, ὡς ἐ δι' ἀνθρώπου μόνου τὸ θεῖον διῆλθεν, ἔτι ψυχὴ ἐν μόνῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπὶ γῆς καθίσκηνωσεν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἡ αὐτὴ διὰ πάντων διῆλθε τῶν ζώων· διὸ εἰς τὴν θεοποιΐαν παρέλαβον πᾶν ζῶον.—De Abst. lib. iv.

† Πρότερον δή σοι βάλομαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν τρόπον τῆς θεολογίας διερμηνεῦσαι· ἔτοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ παντὸς, καὶ τὴν δημιεργίαν τῶν θεῶν μιμέμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ ἀποκεκρυμμένων καὶ ἀφανῶν νοήσεων εἰκόνας τινὰς διὰ συμβόλων ἐκφαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ φύσις τοῖς ἐμφανέσιν εἴδεσι τὰς ἀφανεῖς λόγους διὰ συμβόλων, τρόπον τινὰ, ἀπείλυπώσαλο· ἡ δὲ τῶν θεῶν δημιεργία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν εἰδῶν διὰ τῶν φανερῶν εἰκόνων ὑπεγράψαλο· εἰδότες δὴ χαίροντα πάντα τὰ κρείττονα ὁμοιώσει τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτὰ ἀγαθῶν ὕτω πληρῦν διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μιμήσεως, εἰκότως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν πρόσφορον αὐτοῖς τρόπον τῆς κεκρυμμένης ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις μυσαγωγίας προφέρουσιν. De Myst. Ægypt. § 7. c. i.

 shewn,

shewn, the worship of the *heavenly bodies*; and this continued unmixed till the institution of political Society: Then, another species arose, the deification of *dead kings and lawgivers*. Such was the course of idolatry in all places as well as in Egypt: but there, the method of recording the history of their hero Gods, in improved *hieroglyphics*, gave birth to the third species of idolatry, *brute-worship*; and this was peculiar to Egypt and its colonies. Now as the method used by all nations, of ingrafting *hero-worship* on *star-worship*, occasioned the Philologists to mistake * the former as symbolical of the latter; so the method, used by the Egyptians (mentioned a little before) of supporting brute-worship, which was really symbolical of their hero Gods, made the same writers think it to be originally symbolical of star Gods, and even of the first Cause. Thus the very learned Vossius fell into two mistakes: 1. That hero-worship was symbolical of star-worship: 2. That brute-worship was symbolical of it likewise. The consequence of which was, that the system of physical-theology, which was, indeed, one of the last sciences of the Egyptian *school*, was supposed to be the first; and hero-worship, which was indeed the first religion of the Egyptian *church*, was supposed to be the last. This is no more than saying, that (for reasons given before) the Magistrate would very early institute the worship of their dead benefactors, and that the Philosopher could have no occasion, till many ages afterwards (when men grew inquisitive or licentious), to hide the ignominy of it, by making those hero Gods only shadowy Beings, and no more than emblems of the several parts of nature †.

Now though the doctrine of this early *physical Theology*, as explained by the Greeks, makes very much for the high antiquity of Egyptian learning, the point I am concerned to prove; yet as my only end is truth, in all these enquiries, I can, with the same pleasure, confute an error which supports my system, that I have in detecting those which made against it.

The common notion of these Philologists, we see, brings Hero-worship, by consequence, very low; and

* See Book iii. § 6.

† See note [TTT] at the end of this Book.

as

PLATE IX.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

J. Mynde sc.

g 1. from the Bembine Table.
g. 2. A Mummy from Kirchers Oedipus.
is Mummy Fig. 2. shews what sort of Idol it is we see worshiped Fig. 1.
g. 3. The Pictoral Cloth of a Mummy Fig. 2. on which is depicted the
ze and manner of embalming From Kirchers Oedipus.

as some of their followers have pursued that consequence, I shall beg leave to examine their reasonings. The learned author of the *Connections* pushes the matter very far:—"It does not appear from this table [the "*Bembine*] that the Egyptians worshipped any idols of "human shape, at the time when this table was com-"posed; but rather, on the contrary, all the images "herein represented, before which any persons are "described in postures of adoration, being the figures "of birds, beasts, or fishes; this table seems to have "been delineated BEFORE the Egyptians worshipped "the images of men and women; WHICH WAS THE "LAST AND LOWEST STEP OF THEIR IDOLATRY *." Now the whole of this observation will, I am afraid, only amount to an *illogical consequence* drawn from *a false fact*; let the reader judge. *All the images* (he says) *herein represented, before which any persons are described, in postures of adoration, are the figures of birds, beasts, and fishes.* I was some time in doubt whether the learned writer and I had seen the same table: for in that given us by Kircher, the whole body of the picture is filled up with the greater Egyptian Gods in HUMAN SHAPE; before several of which, are other human figures in postures of adoration; unless the learned writer will confine that posture to kneeling; which yet he brings no higher than the time of Solomon †. Some of these worshippers are represented *sacrificing* ‡; others in the act of offering; and offering to Gods inthroned ‖. One of which figures I have caused to be engraved ¶, where a mummy from Kircher's *Œdipus* ** will shew us what sort of idol it is which we see worshipped by offerings ††. With regard to the kneeling postures of adoration, to birds, beasts, and fishes, these are in a narrow border of the table, which runs round the principal compartments. The learned writer indeed seems to make a matter of it, "that all the images that "kneel are represented as paying their worship to some

* Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connected, vol. ii. p. 320.
† Ibid. p. 317.
‡ As at [S. V.] ‖ As at [T. Φ.] [O. Σ.] and [S. X.]
¶ See Plate IX. fig. 1. ** Fig. 2. †† Fig. 1.

"animal figure; there not being one instance or repre-
" sentation of this worship paid to an image of human
" form, either on the border or in the table *." But surely there is no mystery in this. The table was apparently made for the devotees of Isis in Rome †. Now, amongst the Romans, brute-worship was so uncommon, that the artist thought proper to mark it out by the most distinguished posture of adoration; while the worship of the greater Hero-Gods, a worship like their own, was sufficiently designed by the sole acts of offering and sacrifice.

But supposing the fact to have been as the writer of these *Connections* represents it; how, I ask, would his consequence follow, *That the table was made* BEFORE *the Egyptians worshipped the images of men and women?* It depends altogether on this supposition, that Brute-worship was not symbolical of Hero-worship; but the contrary hath been shewn. The learned author himself must own that Apis, at least, was the *symbol* of the Hero-God Osiris. But can any one believe, he was not worshipped in his own figure before he was delineated under that of an ox? To say the truth, had this author's fact been right, it had been a much juster consequence, *That the table was made* AFTER *the Egyptians had generally left off worshipping the images of men and women*; for it is certain, the symbolic worship of brutes brought human images into disuse. Who can doubt but human images of Hero-Gods were used in Egypt long before the time of Strabo? yet he tells us ‡, that in their temples (of which he gives a general description) they either had no images, or none of human form, but of some beast. He could not mean in those temples dedicated to animals; for where had been the wonder of that? nor will this disuse of human images appear strange to those who reflect on what hath been

* Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connected, vol. ii. p. 318.

† See note [UUU] at the end of this Book.

‡ Τῆς δὲ καλασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διάθεσις τοιαύτη. Κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, &c.——μετὰ δὲ τὰ προπύλαια, ὁ νεὼς πρόναον ἔχων μέγαν, καὶ ἀξιόλογον· τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δὲ ἄδηλον, ἢ ἐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. Geogr. lib. xvii. pp. 1158, 1159. Amst. ed.

said

said of these *Symbols*, which being supposed given by the Gods themselves, their use in religious worship would be thought most pleasing to the givers.

This conclusion is further strengthened by these considerations: 1. That the age of the *table* is so far from being of the antiquity conceived by the learned writer, that it is the very latest of all the old Egyptian monuments; as appears from the mixture of all kinds of hieroglyphic characters in it. 2. That on almost all the obelisks * in Kircher's *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum*, which are undoubtedly very ancient, we see adoration given to idols in human form; and likewise in that very way the learned author so much insists upon, namely, *Genuflexion*.

Thus, though from the *Bembine-table* nothing can be concluded for the high date of heroic image-worship, yet nothing can be concluded for the low. However the learned writer will still suppose (what every one is so apt to do) that he is in the right; and therefore tries to maintain his ground by fact and reason.

His argument from *fact* stands thus:—"The Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the birth of "these five Gods. They say that Rhea lay privately "with Saturn, and was with child by him; that the "Sun, upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon "her, that she should not be delivered in any month or "year: That Mercury being in love with the goddess "lay with her also; and then played at dice with the "Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of "each day, and made up of these winnings five days, "which he added to the year, making the year to consist "of three hundred sixty-five days, which before consisted of three hundred sixty days only; and that in "these days Rhea brought forth five children, Osiris, "Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthe. We need not enquire into the mythology of this fable; what I remark "from it is this, that the fable could not be invented "before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and con-

* Namely, the Lateran of Ramesses, the Flaminian of Psammitichus, the Sallustian, and the Constantinopolitan.

"sequently

" sequently that by their own accounts the five deities " said to be born on the five ἐπαγόμεναι, or additional " days, were not deified before they knew that the year " had these five days added to it; and this addition " to the year was made about—A. M. 2665, a little " after the death of Joshua *."

I agree with this learned author, that *the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days*; I agree with him, that *the addition of the five days might be made about* A. M. 2665; but I deny the consequence, that *the five Gods were not deified before this addition to the year*; nay, I deny that it will follow from the fable, that the makers and venders of it so thought. What hath misled the learned writer seems to be his supposing that the fable was made to commemorate the deification of the five Gods, whereas it was made to commemorate the insertion of the five days; as appears from its being told in that figurative and allegoric manner in which the Egyptians usually conveyed the history of their science: and it was ever the way of Antiquity, to make the Gods a party, in order to give the greater reverence to the inventions of men. A design to commemorate the *time of deification* was so absurd a thing in the politics of a Pagan priest, that we can never believe he had any thing of that kind in view: it was his business to throw the Godhead back before all time; or at least to place it from time immemorial. But admitting the maker of this fable intended to celebrate in general the history of these five gods, can we think that he, who was hunting after the marvellous, would confine his invention within the inclosure of dates? a matter too of so dangerous a nature to be insisted on. We know (and we now, partly, see the reason of it) that the ancient mythologists affected to confound all chronology; a mischief which hath so shaken the crazy edifice of ancient times, that the best chronologists have rather buried themselves in its ruins, than been able to lead others through it: besides, it is evident that new lies were every year told of their old Gods. Let him who doubts of this, consider what additions following poets and theologers have made to the

* Connect. vol. ii. pp. 283, 284.

fables

fables which Homer and Hesiod had recorded of the Gods; additions, seen, by their very circumstances, not to have been invented when those ancient bards sung of their intrigues. In these later fables we frequently find the Gods of Greece and Egypt concerned in adventures, whose dates, if measured by determined synchronisms, would bring down their births to ages even lower than their long established worship. The not attending to this has, as will be seen hereafter, egregiously misled the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton in his *ancient Chronology*. Thus the same author *, Plutarch, tells us, in the same place, of another Egyptian fable which makes *Typhon beget Hierosolymus and Judæus* †. But what then? must we believe, that Typhon was no earlier than the name of Judæus? must we not rather conclude, that this was a late story invented of him out of hatred and contempt of the Hebrews?

In a word, this practice of adding new mythology to their old divinity was so notorious, that the learned *Connector of sacred and profane history* could not himself forbear taking notice of it: "The Egyptians "(says he) having first called their heroes by the names "of their *siderial* and *elementary* deities, ADDED IN "TIME TO THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTIONS "OF SUCH HEROES, A MYTHOLOGICAL *account of their* "*philosophical opinions* concerning the Gods whose "names had been given to such heroes ‡."

"But, (says this writer) had *Osiris, Orus, Typho,* "*Isis,* and *Nephthe,* been esteemed deities before this "additional length of the year was apprehended, *we* "*should not have had this, but some other fabulous* "*account of their birth transmitted to us* ‖." Here the premisses and conclusion are severally propped up by two false suppositions; the premisses, by this, that the fable was invented to *commemorate the origin of these gods*; and the conclusion, by this, that we have no *other fabulous account of their birth.*

* Is. & Os.

† Tacitus seems to allude to this paltry fable: *Quidam, regnante Iside, exundantem per Ægyptum multitudinem, ducibus* Hierosolyma & Juda, *proximas in terras exoneratam.* Hist. lib. v. cap. 2.

‡ Connect. vol. ii. pp. 300, 301. ‖ Ib. p. 284.

From

From fact, the learned writer comes to reason; and speaking of the Egyptian Hero-Gods, who, he supposes, were antediluvian mortals, he says: —"But I do not "imagine they were deified until about this time of cor- "recting the year; for when this humour first began, "it is not likely that they made Gods of men but just "dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many "persons might be living witnesses: but they took the "names of their first ancestors, whom they had been "taught to honour for ages, and whose fame had been "growing by the increase of tradition, and all whose "imperfections had been long buried, that it might be "thought they never had any.—It is hard to be con- "ceived that a set of men could ever be chosen by their "contemporaries to have divine honours paid them, "whilst numerous persons were alive, who knew their "imperfections, or who themselves or their immediate "ancestors might have as fair a pretence, and come in "competition with them. Alexander the Great had but "ill success in his attempt to make the world believe "him the son of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa "Pompilius, the second king of Rome, make Romulus's "translation to heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave "room for subsequent historians to report him killed "by his subjects. Nor can I conceive that Julius "Cæsar's canonization, though it was contrived more "politically, would ever have stood long indisputable, "if the light of Christianity had not appeared so soon "after this time as it did, and impaired the credit of "the heathen superstitions. The fame of deceased "persons must have ages to grow up to heaven, and "divine honours cannot be given with any shew of DE- "CENCY, but by a late posterity*."

He says, *it is not likely they made Gods of men but just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses.* How *likely* shall be considered presently; but that they did in fact do so, is too plain, methinks, to be denied. The learned Eusebius, a competent judge (if ever there was any) of

* Connect. vol. ii. pp. 286, 287.

ancient

ancient fact, delivers it as a notorious truth, that in the early ages, those who excelled in wisdom, strength, or valour, who had eminently contributed to the common safety, or had greatly advanced the arts of life, were either deified during life, or immediately on their decease *: This he had reason to believe, for he had good authority, the venerable history of Sanchoniathon the Phenician; which gives a very particular account of the origin of Hero-worship, and expressly says the deification was immediate: And surely, when men were become so foolish as to make Gods of their fellow-creatures, the *likeliest*, as well as most excusable season was, while the heat of gratitude, for new-invented blessings, kept glowing in their hearts; or, at least, while the sense of those blessings was yet fresh and recent in their memories; in a word, while they were warmed with that enthusiastic *love* and *admiration* which our great poet so sublimely describes:

"'Twas virtue only (or in Arts or Arms,
" Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)
" The same, which in a sire the sons obey'd,
" A prince, the father of a people made.
" On him their second providence they hung,
" Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
" He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food;
" Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,
" Draw forth the monsters of th' abyss profound,
" And fetch th' aërial eagle to the ground †."

Was there any wonder in this, that he who taught mankind to subject all the elements to their use, should, by a rude admiring multitude, be adjudged a Being of a superior order?

But they took the names of their first ancestors, whose fame had been growing up by the increase of tradition.

* —τρίτοι δὲ ἄλλοι, σφᾶς αὐτὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ῥίψαντές· τὺς ἐπὶ συνέσει τῶν κατ' αὐτὺς προφὲρειν νενομισμένυς, ἢ καὶ ῥώμη σώματος, καὶ δυναστείας ἰσχύει τῶν πλειόνων ἐπικρατήσαντας, γίγαντάς τινας, ἢ τυράννυς, ἢ καὶ γόητας, καὶ φαρμακέας ἄνδρας, ἔκ τινος τῶν θειοτέρων ἀποπτώσεως, τὰς κοκοτέχνυς γοητείας συνεσκευασμένυς· ἢ καὶ τὺς ἄλλυς κοινῆς τέ τινος καὶ βιωφελῦς εὐεργεσίας προάρξαντας, ζῶντάς τε ἔτι καὶ μετὰ τελευτὴν Θεὺς ἐπιφήμισαν. Præp. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 5.

† Essay on Man, Ep. iii.

With-

Without doubt, the ancestors, men deified, and which, as being extreme early, may be called the *first*, had a very large and spreading reputation. But how was this procured but by an early apotheosis? which, by making them the continual subject of hymns and panegyrics, preserved them from the oblivion of those unletter'd ages: And in fact, the fame of all, but those so deified, was very soon extinct and forgotten.

—*And all whose imperfections had been long buried, that it might be thought they never had any* By this, one would be apt to think that the Hero-Gods of Greece and Egypt, whose deification the learned writer would bring thus low, had nothing unseemly told of them in their Legends: Which, were it true, the argument would have some weight. But what school-boy has not read of the rogueries which the Pagan worshippers have every where recorded of their Gods? Are not these a convincing proof of their deification by that very age which saw both their virtues and their vices; but, with the fondness of times newly obliged, saw nothing but in an honourable light *; and so unhappily canonized both the good and the bad together, and, in that condition, delivered them all down to posterity? Not that I suppose (for I have just shewn the contrary) that late poets and mythologists did not add to the tales of their forefathers. I can hardly believe Jupiter to have been guilty of all the adulteries told of him in Ovid: But this one may safely say, that unless he had been a famed Adulterer, in early tradition, his later worshippers had never dared to invent so many odious stories of the *Sire of gods and men.*

But, *it is hard to be conceived that they should have divine honours immediately paid them, because their contemporaries might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them.* I understood that *none* were deified but those whose benefits to their fellow-citizens,

* —Quæ ista justitia est, nobis succensere, quòd talia dicimus de diis eorum; & sibi non succensere, qui hæc in Theatris libentissimè spectant crimina deorum suorum? & quod esset incredibile, nisi contestatissime probaretur, hæc ipsa theatrica crimina deorum suorum IN HONOREM INSTITUTA SUNT eorundem deorum. August. de civit. Dei, l. iv. c. 10.

or

or to mankind at large, were very eminent; and that *all* with these pretensions were deified; so that I scarce know what to make of this observation.

—But *Alexander and Cæsar's apotheoses were scorned and laughed at* *. And so they deserved. For if they, or their flatterers for them, would needs affect deification in a learned and enlightened age and place, no other could be expected from so absurd an attempt. But then those, who knew better how to lay a religious project, found no impediment from their *nearness* to its execution. Thus Odin †, about this very Cæsar's time, aspired to immediate worship amongst a rude and barbarous people (the only scene for playing the farce with success), and had as good fortune in it, as either Osiris, Jupiter, or Belus.

—*Nor could Numa Pompilius make Romulus's translation to heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report him killed by his subjects.* Here the writer conscious that Antiquity opposed his hypothesis of the *late* deification of their early heroes, with many glaring examples to the contrary, has thought fit to produce one ‡ which he fancied he could deal with. *Romulus's translation was never so firmly believed but that* SUBSEQUENT HISTORIANS, *&c.* As if at all times speculative men did not see the origin of their best established Hero-Gods: As if we could forget, what the learned writer himself takes care to tell us in this very place, that *Euhemerus Messenius wrote a book to prove the ancient gods of the heathen world to have been only their ancient kings and commanders* ‖.

The fame of deceased persons (says he) *must have ages to grow up to heaven.—Must!* that is, in spite of a barbarous multitude, who would make Gods of them

* Plutarch uses this very argument against Euhemerus, to prove that their country gods *never* were mortal Men. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣ. p. 641.

† Odinus *supremus est & antiquissimus Asarum, qui omnes res gubernat; atque etiamsi cæteri Diis potentes sint, omnes tamen ipsi inserviunt, ut patri liberi.—Cum Pompeius dux quidam Romanorum Orientem bellis infestaret,* Odinus *ex Asia huc in septentrionem fugiebat.* Edda Snorronis apud Thom. Bartholin. de Antiq. Danic. pp. 648 & 652.

‡ See note [XXX] at the end of this Book.

‖ P. 288. See the Divine Legation, Book iii. § 6.

out

out of hand: in spite of ancient Story, which tells us plainly, they had their wicked wills.

—*And divine honours cannot be given with any shew of decency but by a late posterity.* It must be confessed, the Ancients observed much *decency* when, in the number of their greater Gods, they admitted ravishers, adulterers, pathics, vagabonds, thieves, and murderers.

But now the learned writer, in toiling to bring hero-worship thus low, draws a heavier labour on himself; to invent some probable cause of the *apotheosis*: that warmth of gratitude for god-like benefits received, which ancient history had so satisfactorily assigned for the cause, being now quite out of date. For when gratitude is suffered to cool for many ages, there will want some very strong machine to draw these mortals up to heaven. However, our author has supplied them with a most splendid vehicle. "Some ages after (says he) they descended to "worship heroes or dead men.—The most celebrated "deities they had of this sort were Cronus, Rhea, "Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe; and these "persons were said to be deified upon an opinion that, "at their deaths, their souls migrated into some STAR, "and became the animating spirit of some luminous "and heavenly body: This the Egyptian priests ex-"pressly asserted.—Let us now see when the Egyptians "first consecrated these hero-gods, or deified mortals. "To this I answer, Not before they took notice of the "appearances of the particular *stars* which they ap-"propriated to them: Julius Cæsar was not canonized "until the appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor *could the* "*Phenicians have any notion* of the divinity of Cronus "until they made some observations of the *star* which "they imagined he was removed into *."

He says, *the Egyptian priests* EXPRESSLY ASSERTED *that these persons were said to be deified* upon an opinion *that at their death their souls migrated into some star.* And for this he quotes a passage out of Plutarch's tract of *Isis* and *Osiris*; which I shall give the reader in Plutarch's own words, that he may judge for himself. Speaking of the tombs of the Gods, he says: *But the*

* Connect. vol. ii. pp. 281, 282, 283.

priests

priests affirm not only of these, but of all the other Gods, of that tribe which were not unbegotten nor immortal, that their dead bodies are deposited amongst them and preserved with great care, but that their souls illuminate the stars in heaven *. All here *asserted* is that the Egyptians thought the souls of their hero-gods had migrated into some star; but not the least intimation that *they were deified upon this opinion of their migration.* These are two very different things. The opinion of their migration might, for any thing said by Plutarch, be an after superstition; nay we shall make it very probable that it was so: for the *Connector* not resting on this authority, as indeed he had small reason, casts about for some plausible occasion, how men come to be deified upon so strange *an opinion*; and this he makes to be *their* FIRST *notice of the appearance of a particular star.* But how the new appearance of a star should make men suppose the soul of a dead ancestor was got into it, and so become a God, is as hard to conceive as how Tenterden steeple should be the cause of Goodwin-Sands. Indeed it was natural enough to imagine such an ἐπιφάνεια, when the cultivation of *judicial astrology* had aided a growing superstition to believe that their tutelary God had chosen the convenient residence of a culminating star, in order to shed his best influence on his own race or people. This seems to be the truth of the case: and this, I believe, was all the Egyptian priests, in Plutarch, meant to say.

But from a *sufficient cause*, this *new appearance* is become (before the conclusion of the paragraph) the *only cause* of deification: *Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus: nor* COULD *the Phenicians have any notion of the divinity of Cronus until they made some observations of the star which they imagined he was removed into.* As to Cæsar's apotheosis, it was a vile imitation of those viler flatteries of Alexander's successors in Greece and Egypt; and the *Julium Sidus* an incident of no other consequence than

* Οὐ μόνον δὲ τέτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγένητοι μηδὲ ἄφθαρτοι, τὰ μὲν σώματα σφῶν αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι καμόντα καὶ διαπύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν ἄστρῳ λάμπειν ἄστρα. pag. 640. Edit. Steph. 8vo.

to save his sycophants from blushing. But abandoned Courtiers and prostitute Senates never wait for the declaration of Heaven: and when the slaves of Rome sent a second tribe of Monsters to replenish the Constellations, we find that Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, &c. who rose into Gods as they sunk below humanity, had no more Stars in their favour than Teague in the Committee. But of all cases, the Phenicians' seems the hardest: who with their infinite superstitions could yet have no notion of Cronus's divinity, till they had read his fortune in his Star. I am so utterly at a loss to know what this can mean, that I will only say, if the reader cannot see how they might come by this notion another way, then, either he has read, or I have written, a great deal to very little purpose.

VI. We come now to the last cause assigned by the Ancients for brute-worship, as we find it in EUSEBIUS *; namely, That it was the invention of a certain king, for his private ends of policy, to establish in each city the exclusive worship of a different animal, in order to prevent confederacies and combinations against his Government. That an Egyptian king did in fact contrive such a political institution one may safely allow, because, on this very supposition, it will appear that brute-worship had another and prior original. For it is not the way of Politicians to invent new Religions, but to turn those to advantage which they find already in use. The cunning, therefore, of this Egyptian monarch consisted in founding a new institution of *intolerance*, upon an old established practice in each city of different *animal-worship*. But supposing this king of so peculiar a strain of policy that he would needs invent a new Religion; How happened it that he did not employ *hero-worship* to this purpose (so natural, a superstition that it became universal) rather than the whimsical and monstrous practice of *brute-worship*, not symbolical, when direct hero-worship would have served his purpose so much better; religious zeal for the exclusive honour of a dead citizen being likely to rise much higher than reverence to a compatriot animal? The only solution of the difficulty is this, Brute-worship being then the favourite super-

* See Div. Leg. vol. ii. p. 306.

stition

sition of the people, the politic monarch chose that for the foundation of his contrivance. So that we must needs conclude, this pretended cause to be as defective as the rest.

These were the reasons the Greek writers gave for *brute-worship* in general. But besides these, they invented a thousand fanciful causes of the worship of this or that animal in particular; which it would be to no purpose to recount.

On the whole, so little satisfaction did these writers afford to the learned Fourmont (who yet is for making something or other out of every rag of Antiquity, which he can pick up and new-line with an Etymology), that he frankly owns the true original of brute-worship is the most difficult thing imaginable to find out: *Si on' nous demandoit* (says he) *de quel droit, tel ou tel dieu, avoit sous lui-tel ou tel animal, pour certain, rien de plus difficile à deviner* *.

However, amidst this confusion, the Greeks, we see, were modest. They fairly gave us their opinions, but forged no histories to support them. The Arabian writers were of another cast: it was their way to free themselves from these perplexities by telling a story: Thus Abennephi, being at a loss to account for the Egyptian worship of a fly, invents this formal tale, That the Egyptians being greatly infested with these insects, consulted the oracle, and were answered, that they must pay them divine honours. *See then*, says this dexterous writer, *the reason of our finding so many on the obelisks and pyramids.*

But of all the liberties taken with remote Antiquity, sure nothing ever equalled that of a late French writer, whose book, intitled, HISTOIRE DU CIEL, accidentally fell into my hands as this sheet was going to the press. Kircher, bewildered as he was, had yet some ground for his rambles. He fairly followed Antiquity: unluckily indeed, for him, it proved the *ignis fatuus* of Antiquity; so he was ridiculously misled. However, he had enough of that fantastic light to secure his credit as a fair writer. But here is a man who regards Antiquity

* Refl. Crit. sur les histoires des anciens peuples, liv. ii. § 4.

no more than if he thought it all imaginary, like his countryman, Hardouin. At least, he tells us in express words, that the study of the tedious and senseless writings of Herodotus, Plato, Diodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and such like, is all labour lost. The truth is, these volatile writers can neither rest in fact nor fable; but are in letters what Tacitus's Romans were in civil government, who could neither bear a perfect freedom, nor a thorough slavery*. Only with this additional perversity, that when the inquiry is after Truth they betray a strange propensity to Fable; and when Fable is their professed subject, they have as untimely an appetite for Truth; thus, in that philosophical Romance called *La vie de Sethos*, we find a much juster account of old Egyptian wisdom than in all the pretended *Histoire de Ciel*. This Historian's System is, that all the civil and religious customs of Antiquity sprung up from AGRICULTURE; nay that the very Gods and Goddesses themselves were but a part of this all-bounteous harvest†:

Nec ulla interea est inaratæ gratia terræ.

Now the two most certain facts in Antiquity are these, "That the idolatrous worship of the HEAVENLY BODIES arose from the visible influence they have on sublunary things;" and "That the country-gods of all the civilized nations were DEAD MEN deified, whose benefits to their fellow-citizens, or to mankind at large, had procured them divine honours." Could the reader think either of these were likely to be denied by one who ever looked into an ancient book; much less by one who pretended to *interpret* Antiquity? But neither Gods nor Men can stand before a *system*. This great adventurer assures us that the whole is a delusion; that Antiquity knew nothing of the matter; that the *heavenly bodies* were not worshipped for their influences; that Osiris, Isis, Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, Mercury, nay their very hero-gods, such as Hercules and Minos, were not

* This shews why LOCKE is no favourite of our historian. J'ai lû le TRES-ENNUIEUX traité de LOCKE *sur l'entendement humain*, &c. Vol. i. pp. 387, 388.

† See pp. 99, 315, & passim, vol. i. Ed. Par. 1739, 8vo.

mortal

mortal men nor women; nor indeed any thing but the letters of an ancient alphabet; the mere figures which composed the symbolic directions to the Egyptian husbandmen *. And yet, after all this, he has the modesty to talk of SYSTEMES BIZARRES †; and to place the *Newtonian system* in that number. It would be impertinent to ask this writer, where was his regard to Antiquity or to Truth, when we see he has so little for the public, as to be wanting even in that mere respect due to every reader of common apprehension? and yet this *System*, begot by a delirious imagination on the dream of a lethargic pedant, is to be called *interpreting Antiquity* ‡. However, as it is a work of entertainment, where AGRICULTURE has the top part in the piece, and Antiquity is brought in only to decorate the scene, it should, methinks, be made as perfect as possible. Would it not therefore be a considerable improvement to it, if, instead of saying the Egyptian husbandmen found their gods in the symbolic directions for their labour, the ingenious author would suppose that they turned them up alive as they ploughed their furrows, just as the Etruscans found their god Tages ‖: This would give his piece the *marvellous*, so necessary in works of this nature, corrected too by the probable, that is, some kind of support from Antiquity, which it now totally wants. Besides, the moist glebe of Egypt, we know, when impregnated with a warm Sun, was of old famed for hatching men ¶ and monsters.

To return. From what hath been last said, we conclude, That the true original of *brute-worship* was the

* See note [YYY] at the end of this Book.

† See p. 122 of his Revision de l'histoire du Ciel.

‡ S'il y a même quelque chose de solide et de suivi dans l'histoire, que je vais donner de l'origine du ciel poetique, j'avoue que j'en suis redevable à l'explication ingénieuse, mais simple, par laquelle l'auteur des saturnelles [Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. cap. 17.] nous a éclairci l'origine du nom des ces deux signes. Hist. du ciel, vol. i. c. i.

‖ *Tages* quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur & sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, & eum adfatus esse, qui arabas. Is autem *Tages*, ut in libris est Etruscorum, pueri li specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentia, &c. Cic. de Div. lib. ii. cap. 23.

¶ Δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη
Θρέψε, Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. Il. ii. ver. 54.

use of *symbolic writing*: and, consequently, that Symbols were extreme ancient; for brute-worship was national in the days of MOSES. But Symbols were invented for the repository of Egyptian wisdom; therefore the Egyptians were very learned even from those early times: The point to be proved.

And now, had this long discourse on the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics* done nothing but afford me this auxiliary proof, which my argument does not want, I should certainly have made it shorter. But it is of much use besides, for attaining a true idea of the EASTERN ELOCUTION (whose genius is greatly influenced by this kind of writing), and is therefore, I presume, no improper introduction to the present volume, whose subject is the religion and civil policy of the Hebrews. The excellent Mr. Mede pointed to this use: and the learned Mr. Daubuz endeavoured to prosecute his hint, at large; but falling into the visions of Kircher, he frustrated much of that service, which the application of hieroglyphic learning to scripture language would otherwise have afforded.

A farther advantage may be derived from this long discourse: it may open our way to the true Egyptian Wisdom; which by reason of the general mistakes concerning the origin, use, and distinct species of Hieroglyphic writing, hath been hitherto stopped up. The subject now lies ready for any diligent enquirer; and to such an one, whose greater advantages of situation, learning, and abilities, may make him more deserving of the public regard, I leave it to be pursued.

But whatever help this may afford us towards a better acquaintance with the ancient *Egyptian* Wisdom, yet, what is a greater advantage, it will very much assist us in the study of the *Grecian*; and, after so many instances given of this use, one might almost venture to recommend these two grand vehicles of Egyptian learning and religion, the MYSTERIES treated of in a former volume, and the HIEROGLYPHICS in the present, as the cardinal points on which the interpretation of GREEK ANTIQUITY should from henceforth turn.

SECT. V.

THE course of my argument now brings me to examine a new hypothesis against the high antiquity of Egypt, which hath the incomparable Sir ISAAC NEWTON for its Patron; a man, for whose fame Science and Virtue seemed to be at strife. The prodigious discoveries he had made in the *natural* world, and especially that superiority of genius which opened the way to those discoveries, hath induced some of his countrymen to think him as intimate with the *moral*; and even to believe with a late ingenious Commentator on his Optics, that as every thing which Midas touched, turned to gold, so all that Newton handled turned to demonstration.

But the sublimest understanding has its bounds, and, what is more to be lamented, the strongest mind has its foible. And this Miracle of science, who disclosed all nature to our view, when he came to correct old Time, in the chronology of Egypt, suffered himself to be seduced, by little lying Greek mythologists and story-tellers, from the *Goshen* of MOSES, into the thickest of the Egyptian darkness. So pestilent a mischief in the road to Truth is a favourite hypothesis: an evil, we have frequent occasion to lament, as it retards the progress of our enquiry at almost every step. For it is to be observed, that Sir Isaac's *Egyptian* chronology was fashioned only to support his *Grecian*; which he erected on one of those sublime conceptions peculiar to his amazing genius.

But it is not for the sake of any private System that I take upon me to consider the arguments of this illustrious man. The truth is, his discourse of *the empire of Egypt* contradicts every thing which MOSES and the PROPHETS have delivered concerning these ancient people. Though some therefore of his admirers may seem to think that no more harm can derive to religion by his contradicting the *History*, than by his overturning the *Astronomy*, of the Bible, yet I am of a different opinion; because, though the end of the sacred history

was certainly not to instruct us in Astronomy, yet it was, without question, written to inform us of the various fortunes of the People of God; with whom, the history of Egypt was closely connected. I suspect, therefore, that the espousing this hypothesis may be attended with very bad consequences in our disputes with Infidelity. The present turn, indeed, of Free-thinking is to extol the high antiquity of Egypt, as an advantage to their cause; and consequently to urge Scripture, which bears full evidence to that antiquity, as a faithful relater of ancient facts; yet these advantages being chimerical, as soon as they are understood to be so, we shall see the contrary notion, of the low antiquity of Egypt, become the fashionable doctrine; and, what all good men will be sorry to find, the great name of NEWTON set against the BIBLE.

It is therefore, as I say, for the sake of Scripture, and from no foolish fondness for any private opinion, that I take upon me to examine the system of this incomparable person.

His whole argument for the low antiquity of Egypt may be summed up in this syllogism:

OSIRIS advanced Egypt from a state of barbarity to civil policy.—OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were the same.—Therefore EGYPT was advanced from a state of barbarity to civil policy in the time of SESOSTRIS.

And to fix the time of Sesostris with precision, he endeavours to prove him to be the same with SESAC. But this latter identity not at all affecting the present question, I shall have no occasion to consider it.

Now the *minor* in this syllogism being the questionable term, he has employed his whole discourse in its support. All then I have to do, is to shew that OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS were not one, but two persons, living in very distant ages.

And that none of the favourers of this system may have any pretence to say, that the great Author's reasonings are not fairly drawn out and enforced, I shall transcribe them just as I find them collected, methodized, and presented under one view by his learned and ingenious Apologist:—"He [Sir Isaac Newton] has "found it more easy to lower the pretensions of the "Ancients

" Ancients than to conquer the prejudices of the Moderns. Many of his opinions, that are in truth well " founded, pass for dreams; and in particular his arguments for settling the time of Sesostris, which the " Greeks never knew, have been answered with scurrility.—I shall lay together here the evidences that have " convinced me of the truth of his conclusion, because " he has not any where collected all of them.

" 1. That Osiris and Bacchus were the same, was generally agreed by the Greeks and Egyptians, and is " therefore out of question; and that the great actions " related of Sesostris are true of Sesac, and the difference between them is only nominal, is affirmed by " Josephus.

" 2. Osiris and Sesostris were both Egyptian kings, " who conquered Ethiopia; and yet there never was " but one Egyptian king that was master of Ethiopia.

" 3. Both were Egyptian kings, that with a prodigious army and fleet invaded and subdued all Asia " northward as far as Tanais, and eastward as far as " the Indian ocean.

" 4. Both set up pillars in all their conquests, signifying what sort of resistance the inhabitants had made. " Palestine, in particular, appears to have made little " or none, to them.

" 5. Both passed over the Hellespont into Europe, " met with strong opposition in Thrace, and were there " in great hazard of losing their army.

" 6. Both had with them in their expeditions a great " number of foster brothers, who had been all born on " the same day, and bred up with them.

" 7. Both built or exceedingly embellished Thebes in " Upper Egypt.

" 8. Both changed the face of all Egypt, and from an " open country made it impracticable for cavalry, by " cutting navigable canals from the Nile to all the " cities.

" 9. Both were in the utmost danger by the conspiracy of a brother.

" 10. Both made triumphant entries in chariots, of " which Osiris's is poetically represented to be drawn by " tigers;

" tigers; Sesostris's historically said to be drawn by cap-
" tive kings.

" 11. Both reigned about twenty-eight or thirty years.

" 12. Both had but one successor of their own blood.

" 13. Bacchus or Osiris was two generations before
" the Trojan war: Sesostris was two reigns before it.
" Again, Sesac's invasion of Judæa in an. P. J. 3743,
" was about two hundred sixty years before the invasion
" of Egypt in his successor Sethon's time by Sennache-
" rib; and from Sesostris to Sethon inclusively there
" are ten reigns, according to Herodotus, which, if
" twenty-six years be allowed to a reign, make likewise
" two hundred and sixty years.

" In so distant ages and countries it is not possible
" that any king, with many names, can be more clearly
" demonstrated to be one and the same person, than all
" these circumstances and actions together do prove
" that Osiris and Bacchus, Sesostris and Sesac, are but
" so many appellations of the same man: which being
" established, it will evidently follow, that the Argo-
" nautic expedition, the destruction of Troy, the revo-
" lution in Peloponnesus made by the Heraclidæ, &c.
" were in or very near the times in which Sir Isaac has
" ranged them *."

I. Before I proceed to an examination of these reasonings, it will be proper to premise something concerning the nature of the system, and the quality of the evidence.

1. We are to observe then, that this system is so far from serving for a support or illustration of the ancient story of these two heroes, that it contradicts and subverts all that is clear and certain in Antiquity: and adds new confusion to all that was obscure. The annals of Egypt, as may be seen by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, and others, who all copied from those annals, were as express and unvariable for the real diversity, the distinct personality of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, as the history of England is for that of any two of its own country Monarchs. For they were not

* Mr. Mann's dedication to his tract *Of the true Years of the Birth and Death of* CHRIST.

vague

vague names, of uncertain or adjoining times; one was the most illustrious of their DEMI-GODS, and the other of their KINGS; both fixed in their proper æras; and those vastly distant from one another. So that, I make no question, it had appeared as great a paradox, to an old Egyptian, to hear it affirmed that Osiris and Sesostris were but one, as it would be now to an Englishman to be told that Bonduca and the Empress Matilda were the same. All Antiquity acquiesced in their diversity; nor did the most paradoxical writer, with which latter Greece was well stored, ever venture to contradict so well-established a truth. And what wonder? The history of Egypt was not, like that of ancient Greece or Suevia, only to be picked up out of the traditional tales of Bards and Mythologists: nor yet, like that of early Britain, the invention of sedentary monks: It consisted of the written and authentic records of a learned and active Priesthood. In which, the only transgression, yet discovered, against truth, is that natural partiality common to all national historiographers, of extending back their annals to an unreasonable length of time. Let me add, that the distinct personality of these two men is so far from contradicting any other ancient history, that it entirely coincides with them. Nay, what is the surest mark of historic truth, there is, as perhaps we may take occasion to shew, very stron gcollateral evidence to evince the real diversity of these two ancient chiefs.—So far, as to the nature of the system.

2. The quality of the evidence is another legitimate prejudice against this *new chronology*. It is chiefly the fabulous history of Greece, as delivered by their Poets and Mythologists. This hath afforded a plausible support to Sir Isaac's hypothesis; by supplying him, in its genealogies of the Gods and Heroes, with a number of synchronisms to ascertain the identity in question. And yet, who has not heard of the desperate confusion in which the chronology of ancient Greece lies involved? Of all the prodigies of falsehood in its mythologic story, nothing being so monstrous as its dismembered and ill-joined parts of Time. Notwithstanding this confusion, his proofs from their story, consisting only of scraps, picked up promiscuously from Mythologists, Poets, Scho-

Scholiasts, &c. are argued from with so little hesitation, that a stranger would be apt to think the Fabulous ages were as well distinguished as those marked by the Olympiads. But the slender force of this evidence is still more weakened by this other circumstance, that almost all the passages brought from mythology to evince the *identity*, are contradicted (though the excellent person has not thought fit to take notice of it) by a vast number of other passages in the same mythology; nay even in the same authors; and entirely overthrown by writers of greater credit; the HISTORIANS of Greece and Egypt: which, however, are the other part of Sir Isaac's evidence; of weight indeed to be attentively heard. But this he will not do: but, from their having given to Osiris and Sesostris the like actions, concludes the Actors to be one and the same, against all that those Historians themselves can say to the contrary: Yet what they *might* and what they *could not* mistake in, was methinks easy enough to be distinguished. For as Fable unnaturally joins together later and former times; and ancient fable had increased that confusion, for reasons to be hereafter given: so History must needs abound with similar characters of men in public stations; and ancient history had greatly improved that likeness, through mistakes hereafter likewise to be accounted for. Indeed, were there no more remaining of Antiquity concerning Bacchus, Osiris, and Sesostris, than what we find in Sir Isaac's book, we might perhaps be induced to believe them the Same; but as things stand in History, this can never be supposed.

What I would infer therefore, from these observations, is this:—We have, in the distinct personality of Osiris and Sesostris, an historical circumstance, delivered in the most authentic and unvariable manner, and by annalists of the best authority. All succeeding ages agreed in their diversity; and it is supported by very strong collateral evidence. At length a modern writer, of great name, thinks fit to bring the whole in question. And how does he proceed? Not by accounting for the rise and progress of what he must needs esteem the most inveterate error that ever was; but by laying together a number of circumstances, from ancient story, to prove the

the actions of Osiris and Sesostris to be greatly alike; and a number of circumstances, from ancient fable, to prove that the Gods, whom he supposes to be the same with Osiris, were about the age of Sesostris. So that all the evidence brought by this illustrious writer amounting, at most, but to difficulties against the best established fact of history; if we can, consistently with the distinct personality and different ages of these two heroes, fairly account for the similar actions recorded of them; and for the low age, as delivered by the mythologists, of those Grecian Gods which are supposed to be the Egyptian Osiris; if, I say, this can be done, the reader is desired to observe, that all is done that can reasonably be required for the confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's hypothesis, and for reinstating the ancient history of their distinct personality in its former credit.

But I shall do more; 1. I shall shew from the religious constitutions of Greece and Egypt, that the incidental errors which the Ancients fell into, concerning these two heroes, (of which errors our author has taken the advantage, to run them into one) were such as hardly any circumspection could avoid.

2. And still further, that the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, in its necessary consequences, contradicts SCRIPTURE, and the NATURE OF THINGS.

II. I proceed then to a particular examination of this famous proof of the identity, as it is collected and digested by the learned Master of the Charter-house.

The first observation I shall make upon it is, that, by the same way of arguing, one might incorporate almost any two HEROES, one meets with, in early and remote history. For as our great English poet well observes,

" HEROES ARE MUCH THE SAME, the point's agreed,
" From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;
" The whole strange purpose of their lives, to find,
" Or make an enemy of all mankind."

To shew the reader how easily this feat may be performed, I will take any two of our own Monarchs, that come first into my thoughts,—KING ARTHUR, for instance, and WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. And now let him only imagine, when arts and empire have learnt

to

to travel further West, and have left Great Britain in the present condition of Egypt, some future Chronologer of America, labouring to prove these Heroes one and the same, only under two different names, by such kind of Arguments as this:

1. ARTHUR and WILLIAM were both great warriors; 2. Both were of spurious or uncertain birth; 3. Both were in the management of public affairs in their early youth; 4. Both came from France to recover Britain from the Saxons; 5. Both proved victorious in their expedition; 6. Both got the crown of Britain by election, and not by descent; 7. Both had other dominions, besides Britain, to which they succeeded by right hereditary; 8. Both went frequently on military expeditions into France; 9. Both warred there with various success; 10. Both had half-brothers, by the mother, who, being made very powerful, and proving guilty of manifold extortions and acts of injustice, were punished by them, in an exemplary manner; 11. Both had rebellious sons or nephews, whom they met in the field, fought with in person, and subdued; 12. Both reigned upwards of fifty years; 13. And both died in War.

When our Chronologer had been thus successful with his argument from similar circumstances, (as in the case of Osiris and Sesostris), it is odds but he would go on; and to settle a chronology which made for some other hypothesis he had in view, he would next attempt to prove, from *similitude of names*, as before from *similitude of actions*, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR and WILLIAM THE THIRD, another Conqueror, were but one and the same, (as in the case of Sesostris and Sesac).

Here the number of similar circumstances, in the lives of Arthur and William, are, evidently, more characteristic of ONE, than those in the history of Osiris and Sesostris. Yet we know that Arthur and William were really two different men of two very distant ages. This will shew the critics the true value of this kind of evidence; and should reasonably dispose them to much caution in building upon it.

II.

But it will be said, that the nature of the conformity between Osiris and Sesostris is, in some respects, very different

different from that between Arthur and William. I grant it is so; and, from those respects, shall now shew, how the mistaken identity of Osiris and Sesostris may be certainly detected. For I go on, and say, though from this instance it be seen, that a greater agreement might well happen in the lives of two ancient Heroes, than can be found in those of Osiris and Sesostris, while their distinct personality was acknowledged to be very certain and real; yet, in their case, it must be owned, that there are peculiar and specific circumstances of similitude, which could not arise from that general conformity between the actions of two men of the same quality and character; but must be allowed to have had their birth from some fancied identity. For several of the actions, given to both, agree only to the time of one: I mean as Antiquity hath fixed their times. Thus, the vast conquests over Asia agree well with the time of Sesostris, but very ill with the time of Osiris: and, again, the invention of the most common arts of life agrees very well with the time of Osiris, but very ill with that of Sesostris. However, from this conformity in their story, Sir Isaac concludes Osiris and Sesostris to be the same. And so far we must needs confess, that it seems to have arisen from some kind of identity; a sameness of person, or a sameness of name. This great writer contends for the first; but as the first contradicts and subverts all Antiquity, if, the ascribed conformity of actions can be well accounted for from their *identity of name*, and that identity be proved very probable from ancient story, the reader will conclude that the fabulous conformity had its rise from thence; and, consequently, that all Sir Isaac's arguments for their *identity of person* make directly against him. For if the conformity arose from *identity of name*, they were two persons. I shall endeavour to shew all this in as few words as I am able.

I. It was an old Egyptian custom, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, to call their later Heroes by the name of their earlier Gods. This historian having spoken of the CELESTIAL Gods, according to the Egyptians, adds, *They held, that besides these, there were other* EARTHLY *Gods, born mortal; who through their wisdom,*

dom, and common benefits to mankind, had acquired immortality; that some of these had been kings of Egypt; and that part got NEW NAMES, *being called after those of the celestial Gods; and part kept their own**. But this custom of calling the later Heroes after the names of their earlier Gods, was not peculiar to Egypt. Scripture informs us, that the Assyrians did the same. And the practice must needs have been general. For, as we have shewn, the original use of it was to support nascent hero-worship †. But there was another cause, more peculiar to early Egypt; and that was the doctrine of *transmigration*. For it being thought that the same soul passed successively into many human bodies; when they saw an eminent Character strongly resembling some ancient Hero, they were inclined to fancy it the old busy soul, which had taken up its residence in a new habitation: and therefore very equitably honoured the present Hero with the *name* of the past. This reason, Tacitus tells us, the Egyptians gave for the great number of HERCULES's—"*Quem* [*Herculem*] *indigenæ* "[*Ægyptii*] *ortum apud se & antiquissimum perhibent*, "*eosque qui postea* pari virtute *fuerint*, *in* cognomen-"tum *ejus adscitos* ‡." This was so notorious that Sir Isaac could not help owning, it was their way to give one common name to several men. Nay even the least corporeal resemblance was sometimes sufficient to set this superstition on work, and produce the effect in question; as we find from the same Diodorus's account of the Grecian Bacchus. He tells us, that when Cadmus the Egyptian was come into Greece, and his daughter Semele had a spurious son dying in his infancy, whose person resembled the images of Osiris, the grandfather, after having consulted the Oracle (whose approbation was contained in the advice, *to observe the customs of his fathers)*, called him Bacchus, one of the

* —Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετυχηκότας τῆς ἀθανασίας. ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, μεθερμηνευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τινὰς μὲν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανίοις, τινὰς δ' ἰδίαν ἰσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν—l. i. p. 8. Steph. ed. † See Div. Leg. b. iii. § 6

‡ Annal. l. ii. c. 60.—Omnes, qui fecerant fortiter, HERCULES vocabantur, says Varro likewise (as quoted by Servius).

names

names of Osiris: paid divine honours to the embalmed carcass; and proclaimed abroad, that OSIRIS had chosen to come once more amongst men under this infantine appearance*. From this custom of giving the names of celebrated personages of high antiquity to later men, who resembled them in qualities either of mind or body, it was, that they not only, out of honour to Sesostris, called him Osiris, but, out of contempt and hatred, gave MOSES the name of TYPHON, as appears from some later accounts of this Typhon, when they had now jumbled Moses and him into one; as they had done their Bacchus's, Hercules's, and Minos's; and as they were very near doing, by Osiris and Sesostris. The accounts, I mean, are those which we find in Plutarch, of Typhon's flying seven days, and begetting, after his escape, two sons, JERUSALEM and JUDÆUS †. And further that this Typhon was the son of Isaac, and of the race of Hercules ‡.

Causes like these could not fail to make this custom very durable, amongst a people not at all given to change. And in fact, we find it continued even to the time of Cleopatra, who affected to be called the NEW ISIS ||, as her brother was called the NEW BACCHUS ¶. At length it became so general as to have no measure but the fancy of every particular. For Lucian, defending the excessive compliments he had given to one Panthea, whose form he had compared to the images of the Goddesses, justifies himself by examples; and amongst the rest, by that of Egypt; *I shall not insist* (says he) *upon the practice of the Egyptians, who, though they be the most religious of all people, yet employ*

* Κάδμον ἐκ Θηβῶν ὅπλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, γενῆσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην· ταύτην δὲ ὑπὸ τῆ δήπολε φθαρεῖσαν, ἔδοξεν γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἑπτὰ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος· τὴν ὄψιν οἷόν περ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὄσιριν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι, ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' ἐκ εἰωθέναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βουλομένων, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγκωρούσης. Κάδμον δὲ αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διαλῦσαι τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα χρυσώσασθαί τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας, ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὀσιριδος γεγενημένης. Lib. i. p. 14.

† — ἐπὶ ὃν τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαῖον. Is. & Osir.

‡ Ἰσαακῦ τῦ Ἡρακλέης ὁ Τυφῶν.

|| Plut. in Ant. ¶ Diod. Sic. l. i.

ploy the names of their Gods even to satiety and disgust *.

To apply this practice to the case of the Heroes in question. Osiris was the great Lawgiver of the Egyptians: and the Founder of their Monarchy. Sesostris vastly extended and ennobled their Empire; and was, at the same time, author of many beneficial institutions. Now if ever an occasion greater than ordinary presented itself, of putting in practice the custom of honouring later Heroes with the name of the more early, it was here, where the resemblance was so remarkably strong. And if, what Clemens Alexandrinus says be true, that Sesostris sprung from Osiris †, there was still a farther occasion of giving the later Hero the name of his first progenitor. However, that it was given him, is highly reasonable to suppose. And this supposition will clearly account for all that ingrafted likeness from which Sir Isaac hath inferred their *identity*.

For when now they had given to both, the same name; not distinguished, as were their Thoths or Hermes's ‡, (another famous instance of this general custom) by the addition of *first* and *second*, Posterity would frequently confound them with one another; and, in this confusion, inadvertently give the actions of Osiris to Sesostris, and of Sesostris to Osiris. But taking nothing from either, both their histories would soon become the same. And as, in this mutual transferring of one another's actions, several were given to both, entirely discordant to either's age, we are ennabled to discover the true cause of this conformity; and thereby to prove, that that, which it is plainly seen might be, really was, the *cause*.

I. Thus Osiris (because Sesostris was so) is made a great conqueror, at a time when Egypt was but just

* Ἐῶ γὰρ τὰς Αἰγυπλίως, οἵπερ καὶ δεισιδαιμονέσαλοί εἰσι φάλλων, ὅμως τοῖς θείοις ὀνόμασιν εἰς κόρον ἐπιχεωμένως. Pro. Imag. in fin.

† —Τὸν ἓν Ὄσιριν, τὸν πρωτότοκα τὸν αὐτῷ δαιδαλθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς [Σίσωτρις] πολυθέλως. Admon. ad. Gentes, p. 31. Edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

‡ The histories of the first and second Hermes are as much confounded with one another as those of Osiris and Sesostris, and from the same cause; yet, I imagine, the distinction of *first* and *second* will hinder any one from supposing them to be the same.

emerging

emerging from a state of barbarism, into civil policy; and long before several of those nations, he was said to conquer, had a being. But this seems to be one of the latest corruptions in their history. Herodotus giving none of these conquests to Osiris, but to Sesostris only; whence I collect, it was the product of some age between him and Diodorus Siculus, who gives them to Osiris with all their circumstances, and supported by the evidence of pretended ancient monuments*. It appears too, to have been a Grecian addition, and at a time when it was the fashion to make their fables, systematical †. For we are told ‡, (and the tale was apparently framed for no other end than to connect this God with the rest of the College) that, when Osiris made this expedition, he took Silenus with him as his Governor; that he appointed Isis, Queen-regent, in his absence; and Hermes her privy-counsellor; Hercules he made General of his army, and Neptune, admiral of his fleet. And, that nothing might be wanting to complete the cortege, he took with him a company of dancers and singers; amongst which were nine lively girls more particularly eminent; with the king's brother, as master of the maids, at their head; and these truly were to pass for Apollo and the nine Muses. This quaint improvement on an Egyptian blunder, by some drivelling Greek mythologist ||, as rank as it is, is one of the chief circumstances on which our illustrious author hath thought fit

* The columns at Nysa in Arabia.

† Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εὐφυΐᾳ πάσης ὑπερβαλλόμενοι. τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φλυαρίαις ἐξιδιώσαντο, καὶ τοῖς τροκοσμήμασι ποικίλως ἐξεφαγώδησαν, παῖς τῶν μύθων ἡδοναῖς, θέλγειν ἐπιτερπέσι παιδιαῖς ἐποίκιλλον, Philo Bib. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

‡ —Τὸν δ' ὃν Ὄσιριν φασὶ τὰ καλὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καλαισήσαντα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἴσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαλαισήσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἑρμῆν,—καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὑτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα—ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκην κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βύσιριν.—εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὄσιριν φιλογέλωτα, καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χορείᾳ. διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πολὺν μουσεῖον, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ᾄδειν, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας, τούτων δ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομᾶσθαι. L. i. pp. 10, 11.

|| The very learned Casaubon, speaking of the fables, which concern Bacchus with the Nymphs and Muses, says, *Est enim Græcanicæ vanitatis hoc quoque inventum, Bacchicas in majus semper attollentium.* De Satyrica Poesi, p. 41.

to support his *Chronology*. And that which is the mere representation of an old raree-show of the *Court of king Osiris*, brought by some stroller out of Egypt into Greece, is made an authentic record to ascertain the true age of all their Heroes. I am fully supported in the conjecture, that the tale of Osiris's conquests was invented in some age between Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, by the testimony of two of the soberest and most accurate of the Greek writers, Strabo and Arrian; who expressly tell us, that the stories of Bacchus's and Hercules's exploits in the Indies were invented by the Macedonians to aggrandize the glory of Alexander *. The Egyptians had prepared the materials and made them fit for use, by confounding Osiris and Sesostris, under the common name of Bacchus.

2. On the other hand, Sesostris (because Osiris was so) is made the inventor of arts, and the civilizer of a rude and barbarous people, to whom he delivered the first rudiments of Policy and Religion, many ages after they had erected a flourishing and powerful Empire. An inconsistence so glaring, that the ancient critics seeing these things recorded of Sesostris, reasonably understood Osiris to be meant. This doubtless made Aristotle say † that Sesostris was many ages before Minos: yet Eusebius places Minos in the times of the *Judges*. And in the twelfth dynasty of Africanus, Sesostris is made to reign, according to the calculation of Scaliger ‡, in the 1392d year of the Julian period: that very point of time on which the extravagant chronology of Egypt had thrown Osiris. But there is a passage in Ælian which proves still more expressly that the Ancients sometimes understood Osiris by Sesostris. *The Egyptians* (says this historian) *affirm that Mercury taught Sesostris his laws* ||: and that Mercury the contemporary of Osiris was here meant,

* Arrian, l. v. c. 3. Strabo, l. ii. p. 771. and l. xv. pp. 1006, 7. Casaub. ed.—Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου, Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγων πιστὰ ἡγεῖται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἄπιστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Strab. l. xv.

† Πολὺ γὰρ ὑπερτενέει τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν Μίνω βασίλειαν ἡ Σεσώστριος. Pol. l. vii. c. 10.

‡ Vide Marsham Can. Chron. Secul. X. tit. Nilus Rex.

|| Φασὶν Αἰγύπτιοι Σέσωστριν παρ' Ἑρμοῦ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμουσωθῆναι. Var. Hist. l. xii. c. 4.

is

is seen by another passage of this historian, where the same thing is said of all the Egyptians in general. *The Egyptians boast that* MERCURY *taught them their laws* *.

But though mistake gave birth to this corruption in the Egyptian history, yet, without doubt, it was a national vanity which supported it. For we are told by Diodorus †, who made collections from their history, that the reason, assigned by the Egyptians for that famous military expedition, which they had transferred from Sesostris to Osiris, was the Hero's beneficent purpose of carrying the new inventions of corn and wine to all the savage inhabitants of the earth; whom it was his purpose to reduce from a state of Nature, to Political society. The intelligent reader sees plainly, that the design of this story was to do honour to Egypt, as the common benefactress of mankind. Though I will not deny, that the extravagance of the conceit, at the same time, shews how much they were at a loss for a reasonable cause of so early an expedition. The difficulty of all this did not escape the Sicilian. He frankly owns, there is a vast discordancy and confusion in the accounts of Isis and Osiris ‡. What seems strange to me is, that this did not lead him to the cause here explained, when he had so well unravelled the like confusion in the parallel case of Hercules and Alcæus. Their story had been disordered, like this of Osiris and Sesostris, from Alcæus's taking the name of Hercules. But Diodorus, by the same kind of reasoning || I have here employed to

* Αἰγύπτιοί φασὶ παρ' Ἑρμῆ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι. Lib. xiv. c. 34.

† Τὸν δὲ Ὄσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συστήσασθαι, διαιούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τήν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τοῦ τε πυρίνου καὶ κριθίνου καρποῦ. L. i. p. 10.

‡ Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. L. i. p. 15.

|| Ὁμολογουμένου γὰρ ὄντος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τὴν γῆν μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς γίγαντας καθὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνές φασιν Ἡρακλέα γενέσθαι. γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπ' ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπὶ καταριθμεῖσθαι πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἐλάττω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τό, τε ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ, διὰ τὸ ταῦ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μήπω τῶν ὅπλων εὑρημένων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς

to ascertain the diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, shews that Alcæus and Hercules were different men; namely, from actions, given to Alcæus, which could not belong to his age. But these being of different nations, the one a Greek, the other an Egyptian; this circumstance afforded him an opening which he wanted in the case of Osiris and Sesostris, who were both Egyptians.

And here let me observe, that this ancient practice of calling later heroes by the name of earlier, whether of their own or of foreign countries, brought still greater confusion into some other of their histories; making the Ancients themselves imagine an *identity* where none was; as in Bacchus, Neptune, Hercules, Mars, Venus, Minos, &c. which popular mistakes Sir Isaac employs to support another imaginary identity that they never dreamt of.

From this state of Antiquity I would infer these two things. First, that, notwithstanding the conformity in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, there is great reason to suppose the reality of their distinct personalities, because the same kind of similitude, arising from the same mistake, is found in the histories of many other ancient heroes confessedly distinct. Secondly, that there must have been, in Antiquity, some very convincing proofs of the real diversity of Osiris and Sesostris, to keep them, as it did, perpetually separate, notwithstanding the sameness in their histories; when the like kind of conformity had melted two or more Bacchus's, Hercules's, Minos's, into one.

On the whole then, I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* is sufficient to account for the original of the conformity in the history of Osiris and Sesostris; and, having done this, I have done all that is needful to ascertain their *diversity of person:* there being nothing to oppose to

μὲν ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιτατιομένους, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπαστηρίοις χρῆσθαι—συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς. ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἁρμόττειν τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τοὺς Τρωϊκοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι, καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ. μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ θηριώδη. Lib. i. pp. 14, 15.

to the full testimony of ancient history, which declares for their diversity, besides this conformity of actions.

But I have done more: I have shewn, that a *sameness of name* was, in fact, the only cause of that conformity; and, consequently, that their persons were really different. That it could be only a *sameness of name*, I think, appears evidently from the giving to each hero, actions unsuitable to his age; as great conquests to Osiris, and civil inventions to Sesostris. For I persuade myself, (though Sir Isaac be obliged, for the sake of his hypothesis, partly to support, and partly to palliate, this convincing circumstance) no one can, in good earnest, believe that Egypt was indeed emerging from a state of barbarism at the time in which he places Sesostris. 'Tis true, if men will yet suppose so, I have no better argument against it than the BIBLE: and how far the credit of that will go in this enlightened age is not very easy to guess. In a word, such unsuitable actions ascribed to each, nothing can account for, but a mistaken identity, arising from the *sameness of name*; for when this had advanced, or brought down, the real antiquity of either, the historian was to suit their actions to the imaginary time. Besides, we know they are not at all scrupulous about property, when they find an achievement in their way, capable of doing honour to a favourite Hero. There is, as might be expected, a pregnant instance of this, in the history of this very Sesostris; of whom it was recorded, that he divided the lands of Egypt amongst the People, reserving an annual rent to the Crown *. Now we are very certain that this was done, long before his time, under the ministry of the Patriarch Joseph. Here the theft lies open. While these Heroes were only made to pilfer from one another, there was some difficulty to get them convicted; as where two cheats are taught to convey their stolen goods into one another's hands, to evade a pursuit: but here an honest man steps in to make good his claim, and proves it beyond all exception.

* —Καλανείμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τῆτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα [Σέσωστριν] κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἀπολείπειν καθ' ἑκαστον. Herod. l. ii. c. 109.

But it is our business only to shew that the conformity, in the histories of Osiris and Sesostris, may be well accounted for, from a *sameness of name*. Otherwise, if the case required it, we should not want positive arguments, supported by the soundest part of Antiquity, to prove their difference of person. To mention one or two only by the way; it has been observed before*, that, in substituting *Hero*, to *Planet-worship*, the Egyptian rulers, in order to bring the people more easily into this later species of idolatry, called the *Hero* by the name of a *Celestial God*. So Diodorus says, *that Sol first reigned in Egypt; called so from the Luminary of that name in the heavens.* This was the easier brought about, because the first Civilizers, to gain the greater authority, pretended, as was very natural, to be the Offspring of the SUN, that universal God of all the uncivilized people upon the earth. For the same end likewise, namely, to accustom the people, even while in the practice of Planet-worship, to the new adoration, they turned the compliment the other way; and called the Luminary by the name of the Hero; the same historian telling us, that *they called the Sun, Osiris, and the Moon, Isis.* Now the end of this mutual transferring of *names* being only to strengthen their *new* idolatry by giving it a support from the *old*, it must needs be invented on the first introduction of hero-worship. But hero-worship was as early as the first institution of civil policy. Therefore the using the name of Osiris to this purpose, is a demonstration that he was as early as sober Antiquity supposed. Again, Herodotus tells us, and of his own knowledge, that no Gods, besides Isis and Osiris, were worshipped by all the Egyptians in the same unvariable manner†. This I think a plain proof of their being the common benefactors of all Egypt, in the invention of corn, wine, and civil policy, as the Egyptian annals deliver; their other Hero-Gods, as particular and partial benefactors, being worshipped variously. But this fixes them in their high

* See Div. Leg. Book iii. § 6.

† Θεὺς γὰρ δὴ ὁ τὰς αὐτὰς ἅπασι ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἶσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριδος. τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. τοῦτος δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπασι σέβονται. L. ii. c. 42.

Antiquity.

Antiquity. Again, the calf and ox are owned to be the peculiar symbols of Osiris: but the GOLDEN CALF I have proved to be an Egyptian symbol; therefore Osiris was, at least, as old as MOSES. And again, our great Author owns *, that the king who invented agriculture in Egypt, seems to have been worshipped by his subjects in the ox or calf for this benefaction. Now the ox or calf was the symbol of Osiris. But agriculture, we certainly know, was invented before the time of Joseph, which will bring us to seek for Osiris 700 years higher than Sesac, who is our Author's ancient Osiris or Sesostris of Egypt.

To proceed: Such were the blunders in the history of Osiris and Sesostris †, of which Sir Isaac hath taken advantage, to prove them to be one and the same. And it is certain, as was said before, that, had not the sure records of Antiquity kept them separate, this jumbling of their actions into one another's life had long ago incorporated them; and left no room for Sir Isaac's discovery: for the Ancients were fond of running many into one, as appears particularly in the case of Bacchus, whose history we come now to consider.

II. For Sir Isaac farther strengthens the evidence of their identity from Egyptian History, with the Grecian Mythology: in which BACCHUS is delivered to us as the same with Osiris: and Bacchus being but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, the very age of Sesostris, this, in his opinion, reduces all three to one, p. 191.

This identity of Bacchus and Osiris, Diodorus Siculus has very accurately confuted ‡. But to discover the general cause of this, and all other their mistaken identities, we must trace down the religion of GREECE from its original.

It is a certain truth, agreed upon by ancient as well as modern writers, that CIVILIZED GREECE received its religion from EGYPT. But the way in which this commerce was carried on is not so well understood. It is generally supposed to have been done by adopting, and worshipping the very Egyptian Gods themselves. But

* See note [ZZZ] at the end of this Book.

† See note [AAAA] at the end of this Book.

‡ Lib. i. p. 14.

this

this is a capital mistake. It was not till long after their first acquaintance with Egypt, and instruction in their religious Rites, that they adopted Egyptian Gods: which I shall now endeavour to shew.

In the barbarous ages of Greece their only Gods were those natural Divinities, the heavenly Luminaries *. But, on their first commerce with Egypt for the arts of policy, they found there a new species of idolatry, the worship of DEAD MEN; which civilized Egypt had invented; and which, as they improved in policy, had almost worked out their first natural Deities; the same with those of all other uncivilized nations †. This new species, the Greeks eagerly embraced: and beginning now to take the Egyptian nation for their model in religious as well as in civil matters, they brought home this mode of foreign worship, namely, DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Thus far is agreed on all hands. The material question is, whether their object were Egyptian hero-gods; or whether, in imitation of that worship, they made hero-gods of their own? The common opinion is that they took the Egyptian. I suppose, on the contrary, that they must needs make hero-gods of their own; and could not, at that time, receive the other. My reason is this:

The greater celestial bodies were Deities in common, as their influence sensibly extended over the whole habitable globe. But hero-worship introduced the new idea *of local tutelary Deities:* and this of necessity. For those Heroes were the distinguished benefactors of their own nation, at the expence, frequently, of their neighbours: and, for such benefits, they were deified. Now several causes concurred to make men teach and think, that the care and providence of their Heroes, now become Gods, was still, as in life, confined to their own dear Country: Such as the superior reverence which rulers knew the People would pay to a God, whose Peculiar they were supposed to be: for, when undistracted with other cares, he would be supposed at full liberty to attend to the minutest concerns of his own People: Such again, as the selfishness and pride of the worshippers, who would be for ingrossing a God to

* See Div. Leg. Book iii. † Id. ib.

them-

themselves; and raising honour to their Country from this imaginary property. So that the opinion of *local tutelary Deities* became, at length, one of the most general and most undisputed doctrines of Paganism. It is delivered to us, for such, by Plato: yet, as the origin of hero gods from humanity was to be kept out of sight, he carefully disguises the foundation of it. *The Gods* (says he) *formerly divided the whole earth amongst themselves by lot: not from any contention or quarrel about their rights; for it is absurd to suppose they did not know what was fit for every one's peculiar care; or knowing this, that they should endeavour by violence to possess themselves of one another's property: but all of them receiving in an amicable manner, what fell to their share* *, *in this just method of distribution, each resided on his own peculiar: which, having rendered proper for our habitation, they lead and support us as shepherds do their flocks and herds in a pasture.—Every God therefore having his proper allotment, all his endeavours are employed to adorn and benefit his own* †. This was so flattering a notion, that, in after-times, the Pagans carried it even into their Planet-worship: and each climate was supposed to be under the proper protection of its own Star or Constellation. So that the writer of *The wisdom of Solomon* seems to make this the distinguishing mark of Paganism; where praising the God of Israel for his ancient mercies to that people, he says, *neither is there any God but thou, that carest for* ALL ‡.

Now, such a kind of *tutelary* God, the Egyptians would be so far from offering to others, that they would be careful to keep him to themselves. Hence the old

* Τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες—Serr. translates it—deorum quisque prout hominum amore teneretur. I understand it—hæc amicorum sortiti—i. e. regions which belonged to gods who were in unity with one another.

† Θεοὶ γὰρ ἅπασαν γῆν ποτὲ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους διελάγχανον, οὐ κατ' ἔριν (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὀρθὸν ἔχοι λόγον, θεοὺς ἀγνοεῖν τὰ πρέποντα ἑκάστοις αὐτῶν, οὐδ' αὖ γινώσκοντας τὸ μᾶλλον ἄλλοις προσῆκον, τοῦτο ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρίδων ἐπιχειρεῖν κτᾶσθαι) δίκης δὲ κλήροις τὰ φίλων λαγχάνοντες κατῴκιζον τὰς χώρας· καὶ κατοικίσαντες, οἷον νομεῖς κτήματα καὶ ποίμνια καὶ θρέμματα ἑαυτῶν, ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον.—ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κληρουχήσαντες θεῶν ἐκεῖνα ἐκόσμουν. Vol. III. p. 109. Ser. Ed.

‡ Cap. xii. 13. Οὔτε γὰρ θεός ἐστι πλὴν σοῦ, ᾧ μέλει περὶ πάντων, ἵνα δείξῃς ὅτι οὐκ ἀδίκως ἔκρινας.

practice

practice of chaining down their Gods (for hero-gods were worshipped by statues in human form) when they imagined them disposed to ramble; or to take a liking to any of their neighbours. And as the Egyptians would be averse to lending, so the Greeks would be as little inclined to borrow; for they had now a race of Heroes of their own; those godlike men, who had reduced them from a savage to a civilized condition, and had given them this very appetite; the appetite to improve their policy by the assistance of Egyptian wisdom. As little too would their own Lawgivers, who brought that wisdom home to them, be disposed to offer them Egyptian Gods; as knowing how much stronger their reverence and adherence would be to Gods made out of their own parents and fellow-citizens. But if this were the case, (and, in the course of the inquiry, it will be proved from *fact*, as here from the *reason* of the thing) it may be asked; What then was that RELIGION which all agree the Greeks borrowed of the Egyptians? I answer, the TRADE itself of Hero-worship; or the custom of deifying their dead benefactors. But again, if this were so, and that the Bacchus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, &c. first worshipped by the Greeks, were indeed Grecian Deities, it will be then asked, how came their resemblance to the Egyptian to be so great, as that later times should be generally deceived in thinking them the SAME? This is a reasonable question, and will deserve a particular discussion. There were several causes of this resemblance.

1. Nothing could be more simple than the RITUAL of the first *Planet-worship*, as may be easily collected from the nature of that idolatry. But *Hero-worship* necessarily introduced a great number of complex Ceremonies. For, the commemorating the peculiar benefits received from the Hero-god, in his state of humanity, would occasion many *specific* Rites; and the shadowing or concealing his original and especially the blemishes in his moral character would necessitate the use of *allegorical*. And what this last sort of Rites did not sufficiently cover, the notion propagated amongst his worshippers (on which was founded the rationale of their worship) was made to supply, viz. That the DEMONS or

Heroes

Heroes had, like *men*, their inordinate virtues, passions and appetites. Plutarch, in his tract *Of the ceasing of the oracles*, has a remarkable passage to this purpose: "There are in Demons, as in men, a disparity in their "virtues; and, like as in the latter, a mixture of passion "and imperfection. Of which, in some, we find only "the faint and obscure traces yet remain, as the dregs "of evanid matter; in others the vestiges are much "stronger, and indeed, indelible: and of this, we have "certain marks and tokens dispersed up and down, "and preserved in the sacrifices, in the mysteries, and "in the ancient mythologic tales*." In like manner, the general memory of the Hero's descent from mortals, gave rise to the consultation of ORACLES and adoration of STATUES in HUMAN FORM. Now, when Greece borrowed of Egypt the superstition of Hero-worship, they would of course borrow such of the Rites and practices as were peculiar to that superstition; and adapt them to their own Hero-gods, as best suited every one's character. For the truth of which we have the express testimony of Herodotus, who tells us, that *the Egyptians were the first authors of religious festivals, processions, and offerings*; *and that the Greeks learnt them of that people* †. But this resemblance, even without a studious application of Egyptian rites, must have arisen, from the very practice itself of Hero-worship; as appears from what we have observed of the nature of those ceremonies which Hero-worship necessarily introduced. To confirm this, we need only consider the case of those hero-worshippers of the north and west, the Gauls and Suevi; who did not, like the Greeks, borrow this mode of idolatry from Egypt; being indebted for it to nothing but the corruption of our common nature. Now the Gods of those Barbarians, and the Rites with which their Gods were adored, resembled the religion of

* Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ Δαίμοσιν ἀρετῆς διαφοραὶ, καὶ τῷ παθητικῷ καὶ ἀλόγῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔτι λείψανον, ὥσπερ σπερίτλωμα· τοῖς δὲ πολὺ καὶ δυσκατάσβεστον ἴσχει, ὧν ἴχνη καὶ σύμβολα πολλαχῇ θυσίαι καὶ τελεταὶ καὶ μυθολογίαι σώζουσι καὶ διαφυλάττουσιν ἐνδιεσπαρμένα.

† —Παρηγυρίας δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. L. ii. c. 58.

Greece

Greece and Rome so exactly, that these polite nations thought the Gods of the Gauls and Suevi were the same with their own; only worshipped under different names*. This was indeed a gross mistake; but natural to fall into: So great a resemblance have Heroes of all times and places ever borne to one another; whether they were lawgivers, warriors, navigators, merchants, or artists. Nor was their common rise from humanity, and their occupations in social life, the only cause of this resemblance. There was another; viz. their several departments after they were become Gods: some presiding over the elements, as earth, air, or water; others over the passions and pursuits of men, as love, war, trade, and the like. To this common resemblance it was that at length almost every nation pretended, (as we see by Diodorus) that the Gods came originally from them. Now if the Gods of these Barbarians, though different in name, were for this resemblance, mistaken for the Gods of another people, with whom they had no commerce; where was the wonder that the Grecian Gods, who had the same name with those of a people with whom Greece held a perpetual commerce, should for the like resemblance, be believed to be originally Egyptian?

2. For, secondly, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites to enrich the worship of their Gods, they borrowed Egyptian NAMES of honour, to adorn their persons. Thus, for instance, the name of Bacchus, one of the appellations of Osiris, was given to the son of Semele. Herodotus tells us, that these *names* they did certainly borrow; and we see by his account, that this was all which, in his time, was pretended to be borrowed†. This observing historian, in his account of the Pelasgi, further confirms this truth, by a very curious piece of history. "In former times, (says he) the

* See note [BBBB] at the end of this Book.

† Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ ΟΥΝΟΜΑΤΑ τῶν Θεῶν ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει πυνθανόμενος ὅτω εὑρίσκω ἔον. δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι, ὅ,τι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδεῶνος, καὶ Διοσκούρων (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἱστίης, καὶ Θέμιος, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηΐδαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰείκοτε τὰ ὀνόματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. L. ii. c. 50.

"Pelasgi

"Pelasgi in their religious worship used to sacrifice of "every thing without distinction to their Gods, as I "was informed by the priests at Dodona. They gave "neither *name* nor *surname* to any of their Gods: for "they had heard of no such practice. But their titles "were taken from what their worshippers conceived of "their providence, directing and ordering all things "fitly and harmoniously. But after a long course of "time they heard of other Gods, and of their NAMES, "which came from EGYPT, and in the last place of the "name of BACCHUS. Some time after they consulted "the Oracle of Dodona concerning these NAMES: for "this Oracle is supposed to be the oldest of any in "Greece; and, at the time I am speaking of, the only "one. Of this Oracle therefore having asked advice, "whether they should admit the NAMES, which came "from the Barbarians, into their religion; they received "for answer, that they should admit them. From that "time * therefore they sacrificed with specific multifa-"rious Rites, in which they honoured their Gods with "these new *appellations*. And, from the Pelasgi, the "Greeks afterwards took up the custom. But the "original of each God, and whether they are all from "eternity, and what are their several kinds of natures, "to say the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor "since. For HOMER and HESIOD—were those who "made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave SURNAMES "to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific Rites "and Attributes; and designed and delineated their se-"veral forms and figures †."

From

* See note [CCCC] at the end of this Book.

† Ἔθνος δὲ πάλαι πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θυσίσι ἐπευχόμενοι· ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δ' οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτέων. ὁ γὰρ ἀκηκοέσαν κω. θεὸς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τῦ τοιύτε, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον· ἐπεί τε δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ διελθόντι, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτε ἀπικόμενα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσε δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήϊον τῦτο νενόμιστο ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι· καὶ ἦν τὸ χρόνον τῦτον μοῦνον· ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνείλωνται τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκόντα. ἀπεῖλε τὸ μαντήϊον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τότε τῷ χρόνῳ ἔθυον, τοισὶ ὀνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι, παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστα τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε δ' ἀεὶ ἦσαν πάντες ὁκοῖοί τέ τινες τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρωήν τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον

From this remarkable passage we may deduce the following facts; which, besides the evidence to the matter in question, are very corroborative of our general explanation of Antiquity. 1. It appears from hence, that the Greeks borrowed the *names* of the Egyptian Gods*, to decorate their own; receiving them, as Herodotus here supposes, by the hands of the Pelasgians. 2. That they received *nothing but the names*. 3. That the humour of these ancient inhabitants of Greece was so far from disposing them to take Egyptian, or Stranger-Gods, that they would not so much as venture on their *names* till they had consulted the Oracle. 4. That the *Religion of names* came in with Hero-worship or local tutelary Deities (to which species of Gods *names* were an honorary attribution); and unknown to the worshippers of the *natural Divinities*, as the Pelasgians and all other uncivilized people. 5. That this *Religion of names* was a thing of much consequence in the Egyptian superstition, and even characteristic of it; which the reader is desired to observe as of use to explain some passages in the next section, concerning the propensity of the Israelites to that superstition. 6. That one cause of that ignorance, which, Herodotus here tells us, the Greeks ever laboured under, concerning the original, nature, and species of their Gods, and which, as now appears, we had not unjustly charged upon them, when we ventured to say the same in several parts of this work; one cause, I say, was, that those *names* which the Pelasgians had applied to their new Hero-Gods, the Greeks, their successors, took and transferred to theirs. 7. And lastly, (which supports the general argument we are now upon) the true sense of the concluding words, which has hitherto been grossly mistaken, lies open to us—*For* (says Herodotus) *Homer and Hesiod—were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks; gave surnames to the Gods; adjusted their various and specific attributes, and rites of worship; and designed and delineated their several forms and figures.* What hath been

ᾧ Ὅμηρον—ἅτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, Θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ θεοῖσι τὰς τοῖσι ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. Lib. ii. c. 52, 53.

* See note [DDDD] at the end of this Book.

been commonly understood by these words is, that in Herodotus's opinion, the Greeks knew little or nothing of what we call their classical Gods, till Homer and Hesiod taught them how they were to be marshalled, and had assigned their several departments. A sense not only confuted by the poems of those two writers, who relate what they saw ESTABLISHED in their own times, but contradicted by what went just before, where the historian tells us that *Melampus* (whom Homer himself places three generations before the Trojan war) *first taught the Greeks the name, the rites, and the mysteries of Bacchus**; the God last received (if we may believe the same historian) after the *Religion of names* were come in fashion. And we have no reason to doubt his evidence, when we see the several parts of it so well coincide: for if Melampus first taught the Greeks the worship of Bacchus, this God must needs be the last received by them. But indeed, the whole context excludes the common interpretation, and directs us to one, very different. The Pelasgians (we are told) received the RELIGION OF NAMES from the Barbarians [i. e. the Egyptians]; by which, the Gods were divided into their several classes. This new doctrine, the Pelasgians conveyed down to the Greeks. *But* (says the historian) *the original of each God, and whether they are all from eternity, and what their several kinds and natures are, to say the truth, they neither knew at that time, nor since.* He then immediately subjoins the reason of their ignorance—FOR *Homer and Hesiod—were those who made a Theogony for the Greeks*; *gave* SURNAMES *to the Gods*; *adjusted their various and specific rites and attributes*; *and designed and delineated their several forms and figures:* and a convincing reason it is; for Homer's and Hesiod's being the popular and only authorized books of Theology amongst the Greeks, which assign the *names*, the *attributes*, and the *form* to each God, and their accounts being, at the same time, overrun with fables and fictions, it was impossible even for the Greeks themselves to develop the confusion, and

* —Ἤδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαής, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου, τότε οὔνομα, καὶ τὴν θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῷ φαλλῷ. c. 49.

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emancipate themselves from that ignorance here complained of, namely, of the *true natures of their Gods:* which indeed, their Teachers seem to have known as little of as themselves. For Homer when he speaks of Jupiter, sometimes represents him as a God *from eternity*, at other times as only the head of the college of their terrestrial Deities. This then was what Herodotus meant to say; who is not speaking of the INVENTIONS of Homer and Hesiod, but of their AUTHORITY. Whether they were the first who propagated or delivered these things, was not the matter in question. Had it been so, we know how Herodotus would have decided; who, in this very place, expressly tells us, who were the FIRST; namely, the Pelasgians; who delivered them to the Greeks; where Homer and Hesiod found them. However, on the common interpretation, gross as it is, Sir Isaac Newton builds one of his strongest arguments in favour of his *new Chronology*. To proceed:

3. The Greeks not only borrowed the NAMES, but likewise the SYMBOLS of the Egyptian Gods; and fitted them to their own. A very natural superstition, as appears by the practice of the Hebrews in the wilderness; who, in the absence of Moses, running back into Egyptian idolatry, would needs worship the God of their Fathers under an *Egyptian Symbol*; and with *Egyptian Rites* likewise, *and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.* Now had God, on this occasion, persisted in the severity of his justice, where he tells Moses, that he would indeed give them the land of Canaan, and drive out the inhabitants before them, because he had promised Abraham so to do, yet that he would not honour them, as a select People, with his peculiar protection: Had, I say, God thus cast them off, and the people departed with their new Leader, the GOLDEN CALF, into Canaan; and there made it the visible representative of the God of their Fathers, and worshipped it with Egyptian Rites; who can doubt but that the late posterity of this people, thus abandoned by God, and given up *to make and believe a lie*, would have supposed that their Forefathers had worshipped Osiris, and not Jehovah, under this *golden calf?* The case needs no application.

This

This then was the whole of what Greece borrowed from Egypt in matter of religion, when it FIRST learnt the *mode* of Hero-worship from that superstitious people. But,

4. It must be owned, that soon after, they did indeed adopt STRANGER Gods. At first the occasion was rare, and the Worship particular and confined. Thus the Athenians labouring under a destructive famine, and relieved by Egypt with corn, did, in gratitude for that benefit, make Isis the patron-Goddess of their Mysteries.

Their Migrations were another cause of this adoption: for every region having a local tutelary Deity, the new Colony thought themselves obliged to worship the God of that place in which they came to settle. But, of this, more in another place.

However, in process of time, the Greeks naturalized all the greater Gods of Egypt. For we are to observe that, as superstition grew in bulk, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY, arising from the very essence of Paganism, at length overspread all their National Religions, so as to bring things round again. We observed, that those most early Idol gods, the *Celestial luminaries*, were common to all nations, and that *Hero-worship* brought in the idea of local tutelary Deities: now, the principle of INTERCOMMUNITY at length broke down this inclosure, and turned all their Gods again upon the Common,

"The grazed ox, and all her bleating Gods *."

But to be a little more particular concerning these various revolutions in the genius of Paganism. The first idolatry was *Planetary*: and so long, their Gods were in common. But *Hero-worship*, by bringing in local tutelary Deities, made their Gods peculiar. As the times grew polished, and the absurdity of MORTAL GODS became better understood, the Managers of this superstition were obliged to hide their origin from Earth, and to pretend they had ever been Celestial. This soon wore out their peculiarity, and brought in again the notion of their general providence: which, by means of

* Milton.

an increasing superstition, ended in an universal INTERCOMMUNITY. To explain all these particulars, as they deserve, would require a volume. And not much less perhaps might be collected from what hath been occasionally said of them, in the course of this work. Only one attendant circumstance in these revolutions, it may not be improper to take notice of, as it greatly contributed to fix the later Greeks in their mistake concerning the origin of their Hero-Gods. It was this: The learned Egyptians, as we have observed, at length contrived to hide the deformity of their idolatry by pretending that the whole had a reference to the ONLY GOD. Thus their various *Brute-worship*, they said, was severally relative to the various attributes of the DIVINITY. The same kind of refinement they brought into their *Hero-worship:* and each of their greater Gods they made significative, some way or other, of the FIRST CAUSE. But to perfect this part of their symbolical Theology, it was necessary to make large additions to the Legends of those Gods. And thus the several parts of ISIS's history became relative to the divine Nature. But ISIS being now possessed of all the attributes, which happened to be severally divided amongst the various Grecian Goddesses, the Greeks began to think that these were all originally derived from her. This was the established doctrine in the time of Apuleius: who makes ISIS address herself to him in these words: *En assum—rerum natura parens—cujus numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo, totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges* Pessinunticam *nominant* Deûm matrem; *hinc Autochthones Attici Cecropiam* Minervam; *illinc fluctuantes Cyprii patriam* Venerem; *Cretes Sagittiferi Dictynnam* Dianam; *Siculi trilingues Stygiam* Proserpinam; *Eleusinii vetustam Deam* Cererem; Junonem *alii, alii* Bellonam, *alii* Hecaten, Rhamnusiam *alii—Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine* ISIDEM *.

OSIRIS too, becoming equally symbolical, made his fortune in the same manner, as appears by this ancient epigram:

* Metam. l. xi. p. 378.

Ogygia

Ogygia me Bacchum *vocat,*
Osirin *Ægyptus putat,*
Mysi Phanacen *nominant,*
Dionyson *Indi existimant,*
Romana Sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucaniacus Pantheum *.

Thus have I explained the several causes which occasioned the later Greeks to think their own Gods were originally Egyptian; for understanding that the *Rites*, the *Names*, and the very *Symbols* of their Gods were borrowed from thence, they concluded the same of the Gods themselves. And with good appearance of reason, as they found too that the ages immediately preceding theirs, had certainly adopted Egyptian Gods; which Gods had all the attributes of the Grecian. Now when this opinion was once generally embraced, they would, of course, invent a Legend for the Gods, conformable to the Egyptian history of them. And thus we see the reason why they made their Bacchus but two generations earlier than the Trojan war, of which age he was; and yet made him Osiris, the conqueror of India, which he was not †. But their more intelligent historians perceived the absurdity; and so, reasonably satisfied themselves in supposing a *double Bacchus:* but being, as Herodotus observes, *very ignorant of the true origin of their Religion,* it was a mere gratuitous solution: which made it easy for Sir Isaac to evade it; by only supposing, in his turn, that it was their wrong notion of the high antiquity of Egypt which made them split one *Bacchus* into two. And yet in another instance, he frankly enough allows of this ancient practice of the *communication of names* ‡. But he gives the fact reversed; for they were the earlier Greeks who worshipped two *Bacchus's*. And it was late, as we find by *Diodorus*, ere they incor-

* Ausonius, Ep. xxx.

† See note [EEEE] at the end of this Book.

‡ The Phenicians, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king. Chron. of Ancient Kings amended. p. 150.

porated them into one *. Now had the cause of their *duality* been what the great writer supposes, the fact had been just contrary; and earlier times had worshipped *one* Bacchus, and the later, *two*. The truth of the case then is this: when they first worshipped Hero-Gods, they had but one *Bacchus* and one *Hercules*, &c. and these were Grecian: when they afterwards borrowed the Egyptian Gods, they had two of each. And this is not said at random; for Herodotus † and Diodorus ‡ expressly tell us, that two *Bacchus's* and two *Hercules's* were worshipped by different Rites, and as Gods of different original, the one Grecian, the other Egyptian. And at length, for the causes explained under the next head, the *two* of each were again reduced to *one*. For we shall now see, that design as well as mistake contributed to confound the Grecian Bacchus with the Egyptian.

III. For our illustrious Author makes another use of the Grecian mythology, to support his system. He examines the genealogies of their Gods and Heroes; and finds them to coincide exactly with the time of SOSOSTRIS ‖: A farther evidence of the truth of his hypothesis.

There are but few cases in which one would seriously admit the testimony of a Mythologist. Least of all, in settling of dates. The most learned of the moderns complain

* Διμήτορα δ' αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἑνὸς ὑπάρξαι τοὺς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυεῖν· κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον τὰς τοῦ προγενεστέρου πράξεις. διόπερ τοὺς ΜΕΤΑΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΥΣ ἀνθρώπους, ΑΙΝΟΟΥΝΤΑΣ μὲν ταληθὲς, πλανηθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἕνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον. L. iv. p. 148.

† — Καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ΑΘΑΝΑΤΩι Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην, θύουσι· τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ, ὡς Ἥρωϊ, ἐναγίζουσι. Herod. l. ii. c. 44.

‡ Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τίνες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι, τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον· οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν, καὶ τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τιμὰς ΝΥΚΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ καὶ ΚΡΥΦΙΑΣ παρεισάγουσι, διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. Diod. l. iv. p. 148. These *nightly* and *secret* Rites shew them to be Egyptian. As for what is said of the other Bacchus's being the son of Proserpine, this was only a fancy of the Greeks, on observing the *mysteries* of Bacchus and those of Ceres or Isis to have a great resemblance: but this was only occasioned by their being both Egyptian Rites.

‖ Page 191. & seq. of the Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended.

complain greatly of them for confounding all time in their pretended relations of fact. The excellent bishop STILLINGFLEET thus expresseth himself: *We see those* [Thucydides and Plutarch, whose confession he had quoted] *who were best able to judge of the Greek Antiquities, can find no sure footing to stand on in them; and what basis can we find for our faith, where they could find so little for their knowledge? And those who have been more daring and venturous than these persons mentioned, what a labyrinth have they run themselves into? How many confusions and contradictions have they involved themselves in? sometimes writing the passages of other countries for those of Greece, and at other times so confounding times, persons, and places, that one might think they had only a design upon the understandings of their readers, to make them play at blind-man's buff in searching for the kings of Greece* *. And the candid and accurate bishop CUMBERLAND speaks so much to our purpose, that I shall add his words to the foregoing: *Their mythic writers confound and lose all the times of their Gods; which advantage divers Christians make use of against them: and this was a good argument* ad hominem, *as it is called, but is not sufficient to prove, that idolatry, and the heathen Gods, are of* SO LATE AN ORIGINAL, *as some, both Heathen and Christians, have affirmed them to be* †. Now though, in answer to what Sir Isaac Newton brings from such writers, it were enough to say, with those who have considered their character before me, that they are so perplexed, contradictory, and infinitely fabulous, that nothing certain can be gathered from their accounts, for the regulation of ancient time; yet that they may never appear again amongst witnesses of credit, or be heard in matters of fact, I shall endeavour to shew, from what sources those accounts arose, from which the low date of the Egyptian Gods is inferred: whence it will appear that they are a heap of fictions, invented and contrived, as usual, only for the support of greater.

1. The *first* source was the address of the EGYPTIAN PRIESTS, to screen their *Hero-worship* from the inqui-

* Orig. Sacr. p. 41. 8th edit.
† Sanchoniatho, p. 132, 133.

sition of the curious. We have observed, from a famous fable, invented by these men *, to record the danger which this superstition incurred, and from their art in evading that danger, that the original of their *Hero-Gods* was a subject maliciously pursued by the Free enquirers of those times. For the discredit attending this superstition was, that these GODS had been MEN; and the proof of their humanity was taken from their late existence. Now what did these Masters in their trade do, to evade this evidence? We have seen before what they did to obscure the enquiry. Why, by an equal effort of their skill, they invented a set of fables (one of which has been examined above) concerning these Gods; which brought their births even *lower down* than to the times of their established worship. What they gained by this was considerable: They threw a general confusion over the whole history of these Gods: and in a short time made men as indisposed to give credit to the *old* stories of them (from whence the dangerous truth of their HUMANITY might be collected) as these *new* fables, which it was impossible they should believe, for the reason just now assigned. Hence, the first source of the *low dates* of these Hero-Gods.

2. The *second*, was the extravagant vanity of the Greeks in pretending, at length, to be original even to the Egyptians themselves. For we are to observe, that there were three distinguished periods in the Religion of civilized Greece; two of which we have described already. The first was, when the Greeks borrowed Egyptian Rites and Ceremonies to adorn their own Hero-gods: the second, when they adopted the very Egyptian Gods: and the third, when, on the contrary, they pretended that the Egyptians had adopted Theirs. On their first acquaintance with Egypt, they were modest, and fairly allowed its superior Antiquity. But as they advanced in arts and empire, they grew intoxicated with their good fortune; and would now contend with Egypt (become by this time as much fallen and depressed in both) for the honour of priority; and soon after (as

* The fable I mean is that of Typhon's persecution of the Gods and their flight into Egypt; which the Greeks borrowed and fitted up with their own names of the Gods.

was

was no wonder when they had ventured so far), with all the rest of mankind*. And then it was, that having, before this time, thoroughly confounded the Grecian and Egyptian Bacchus with design (a confusion first occasioned by mistake) they invented many fables to countenance their absurd pretensions. Hence their idle tale of Apis, the son or grandson of Phoroneus, becoming OSIRIS; without any other reason in the world than that the son of Phoroneus chanced to have the same name with the *symbol* of Osiris. Hence, again, the fable of Io, the daughter of Inachus, becoming ISIS; for scarce so good a reason; only an approaching similitude of names. Yet these two wretched fables, Sir Isaac Newton (surprising as it is) hath drawn in for the main supports of his hypothesis †. But as much credit as his countenance hath given to them, he who can suppose Io to be stolen out of Greece, carried into Egypt, and there made a Goddess, may as well believe an European ship to be now busied in bringing hither an Indian savage to be made a queen.

But another story of the same stamp, carries its confutation along with it, as Herodotus rightly observed ‡. For, to bring Hercules, as they had done Isis and Osiris, out of Greece into Egypt, in a manner suitable to his character, they pretended that, when he had landed on that inhospitable shore, and was led by the Natives, crowned with garlands, to be offered up at the altar of Jupiter, he broke loose from his leaders, and slaughtered all who were assembled for the Sacrifice: and in this rough manner, I suppose, taught them to abolish those inhuman rites, and to worship their chastiser as a God: which would seem to have been the first bringing in of club-law into Religion. But, as Herodotus observes, the inventor of this fable hath laid his story so ill together, that he hath only betrayed his own ignorance of Egyptian Manners. For, from the

* Λανθάνουσι δ' αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλορθώματα, ἀφ' ὧν μὴ ὅτι γε φιλοσοφίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνθρώπων ἤρξε, Βαρβάροις προσάπτουσι. Diogenes Laertius, Proœm. Segm. 3.

† Page 192. of his Chronology.

‡ Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες· εὐήθης δὲ αὐτέων καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι· ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον, &c. L. ii. c. 45.

most

most early time, the inhabitants of the Nile were so far from offering up human victims, that they held it unlawful to sacrifice above three or four species of animals. But the Egyptians owed them a good turn for this slander of *human sacrifices*; and indeed paid them with usury. For Herodotus tells us, the Priests informed him, that when Menelaus went to Egypt to enquire after Helen, and lay wind-bound in their ports, he cut up two children of the natives, to divine by their entrails *.

This humour of priority was so rooted in the Greeks, that Diodorus seems to insinuate, they always disputed it with the Egyptians †. And so far indeed is true, that it was one of their most early vanities ‡: and though afterwards, on their most intimate acquaintance with Egypt, it was in some degree corrected, yet it burst out again, and lasted, as we see, even to the time of Diogenes Laertius. But this is the pleasant part of the story; The Egyptians were not content to complain, as well they might, that the Greeks had stolen away their Gods and Heroes; but they would needs make reprisals on them. Thus, as Diodorus tells us, when they charged the Greeks with taking away their Isis, to aggravate the theft they pretended that Athens itself was originally but an Egyptian Colony ‖. This was a home stroke: but the Greeks as handsomely returned it; by affirming that one of the Egyptian pyramids was built by Rhodope, a Grecian whore ¶. This setting up one false claim to oppose another, was in the very spirit of ancient Paganism **. So again, the Egyptians maintaining that civilized Greece was indebted for the mode of Hero-worship to them; did, in order to support a just claim, which wanted none of these arts, pretend to Antiquity

* Λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε. Herod. l. ii. c. 119.

† Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βίου ἤγουν γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες.—p. 6.

‡ See § 3. pp. 84 & seq.

‖ Καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δέ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαϊτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. Diod. p. 17.

¶ See note [FFFF] at the end of this Book.

** In the former part of this work where we have shewn, that the Converts from Gentilism unhappily practised it even after they had professed a Religion which condemns all the oblique arts of falsehood, and unjust retaliation.

most

most extravagantly *high*. The Greeks, not to be behindhand with them, and to support a false claim which did want these sort of arts, having pretended that the Egyptians borrowed all from them, brought down the age of these disputed Gods as much too *low*. Unluckily, the great Author, who saw the unreasonable Antiquity of the one system, did not advert to the unreasonable Novelty of the other.

But we are not to think the Greeks firm and steady in this natural consequence of their unjust pretensions. Nothing is so inconstant as falsehood. When, therefore, on the issue, it was seen that all the Records of former times contradicted this novelty; and, consequently, that their darling claim itself was likely to be in danger, they shifted their support, and then contended, in imitation of the Egyptians, for as extravagant an Antiquity *.

IV. Hitherto Sir Isaac Newton was drawn in by Antiquity; which had sunk with him, and foundered in the treacherous soil of Mythology. But the greatest part of his reasoning, from these Genealogies, stands upon an error of his own. The age preceding the destruction of Troy is full of the loves and intrigues of the greater Divinities: who supplied that expedition from their own loins with Demi-Gods once removed. Sir Isaac, who supposed, as indeed he well might from physical observation, that the Gods left off getting children when they died, concludes, from the mythologic account of their Offspring, that they must needs have lived but two or three generations before the war of Troy. But our great Philosopher took this thing a deal too seriously. The truth is, he concerned himself no farther with the fabulous history of ancient times than just served the purpose of his system. Otherwise, he might have found, on the most cursory survey, that one of the essential attributes of a Pagan God was the getting of Bastards: and that, for one he fairly had in life, his worshippers fathered an hundred upon him after his decease. This amorous commerce between Heaven and

* —Πάνλων δὴ πρῶτον μνησθῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ κιφάλαιον ἦν ἐνάκις ἔτη χίλια, ἀφ' ἃ γεγονὼς ἐμνήσθη πόλεμος τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλείας στήλας ἔξω καὶ οἰκοῦσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδὸς πᾶσιν· ὃν δεῖ νῦν διαπεραίνειν τῶν μὲν ἂν ἥδε ἡ πόλις ἄρξασα καὶ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον διαπολεμήσασα ἐλέγετο. Plato, vol. iii. p. 108. E.

Earth

Earth never ceased till near the latest times of Paganism; as we learn from the primitive Apologists; who, referring to their perpetual intrigues in mythologic story, rally the idolaters, of their time, with great vivacity, on the decrepid old age and sudden debility of their Gods.

It being then notorious that, in the later ages of Paganism, Earth swarmed as thick with the progeny of Heaven, as in the early times of that religion, Heaven swarmed with the progeny of Earth, Sir Isaac's calculation, from the time of the sons and grandsons of the Gods, what must needs be their own, is altogether fallacious. But as, in this inquiry, we have still attempted to account for the fables of Antiquity, in order to detect their various impostures, and prevent their future mischief, we shall now consider the original of those in question.

1. The first cause of this doubly-spurious Offspring, was the contrivance of wives to hide their adultery; of virgins to excuse their incontinence; and of parents to cover the dishonour of their House *. The God bore the blame, or rather the Mortal reaped the glory; and Passion, as is usual, was advanced into Piety. Great men too, employed it, (for then Great men had some regard for their Race and Name) to conceal the ignominy of a low-born commerce. In a word, both sexes soon learnt the sweets of a holy intrigue; where a pretended converse with a God or Goddess preserved the reputation of the weaker, and procured power and authority to the stronger sex. Sometimes the pretended amour was mutually concerted between the real parties: as that of Anchises and a Country wench; who, in regard to his honour, was to pass for a Venus. So Homer †:

" Divine Æneas brings the Dardan race,
" Anchises' son by Venus' stol'n embrace;
" *Born in the shades of Ida's secret grove,*
" A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love."

Mr. Pope.

* See note [GGGG] at the end of this Book.

† Δαρδανίων αὖτ' ἦρχεν, ἰὼς σαΐς Ἀγχίσαο,
Αἰνείας· τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσῃ τέκε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη,
Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι, θεὰ βροτῷ ἰυνηθεῖσα. Il. C. ver. 819.

Yet this is one of the instances Sir Isaac brings to prove the low age of the Goddess Venus. See p. 191. of his *Chronology*.

And,

And, in a much later age, the Wife of Philip of Macedon and her Court-gallant. Sometimes again, one of the parties was deceived by the mask of divinity which the other had impiously assumed, as seems to have been the case of Astiochè *:

" Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,
" Ialmen and Ascalapus the strong:
" Sons of Astiochè the heavenly fair,
" Whose virgin charms subdu'd the God of war:
" *In Actor's court, as she retir'd to rest,*
" The strength of Mars the blushing maid comprest."
Mr. POPE.

And of the priestess Rhea,

- - - - - *Quem Rhea Sacerdos*
FURTIVUM *partu sub luminis edidit auras,*
- - - *Mista Deo Mulier* †.

And of Alcmene the mother of Hercules. It was certainly the case of the virtuous Paulina, in the reign of Tiberius: who, being made to believe that the God Anubis was fallen in love with her, went to the appointed assignation with a mind equally balanced by conjugal chastity and superstition. The story is very curious, and told by Josephus ‡ in all its circumstances. In short, if we may believe Ovid, who was exquisitely skilled in the mythologic story, this was one of the most common covers of lust and concupiscence. The pretended nurse of Semele is made to caution her mistress against the addresses of Jupiter, in the following manner:

- - - - - *Opto*
Jupiter ut sit, ait; Metuo tamen omnia. MULTI
NOMINE DIVORUM THALAMOS INIERE PUDICOS ||.

2. Another cause was the ambition of the pretenders themselves to heavenly birth, in order to support their authority amongst their barbarous subjects or followers. Thus

* Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀσκάλαφός τ' καὶ Ἰάλμενος υἷες Ἄρηος,
Οὓς τέκεν Ἀστύοχη, δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζείδαο,
Παρθένος ΑΙΔΟΙΗ, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβᾶσα,
Ἄρηϊ μιχθείρῃ· ὁ δὲ οἱ παρελέξατο ΛΑΘΡΗ. Ιλ. β. ver. 512.

† Æn. l. vii. ver. 659. See Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. i. p. 62.

‡ Antiq. Jud. l. xviii. c. 3. See, for this general practice, Herod. l. i. c. 181.

|| Metam. l. iii. fab. 3.

Thus we are told, that the two Amazon queens, Marthesia and Lampeto, gave out that they were the daughters of Mars, *ne successibus decesset auctoritas* (says the historian) *genitas se* MARTE *prædicabant* *. And thus Romulus and Remus pretended to the same relation: But this matter is explained more at large in the discourse on the ancient Lawgivers †.

3. A third cause was the flattery of sycophants and corrupt Courtiers. To this practice Clepolemus alludes, in his address to Sarpedon:

" Know thy vain self, *nor let their flatt'ry move*,
" Who style thee son of cloud-compelling JOVE.
" How far unlike those chiefs of race divine!
" How vast the diff'rence of their deeds and thine ‡!"
Mr. POPE.

4. A fourth cause was a mere figure of speech common in the eastern phraseology: which, to express the qualities of the subject, called a prudent and powerful monarch || the son of Jupiter; a violent and inhuman ravager ¶, or an expert and able seaman, the son of Neptune **; a sharper, a banker, or a large trader, the son

* Justin. Hist. l. ii. c. 4. † Div. Leg. Book ii. § 2.

‡ Ψευδόμενοι δέ σε φασὶ Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο
Εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν
Οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων. Il. ε. ver. 635.

|| The words of Callimachus, in his Hymn to Jupiter, are so apposite to our purpose, that the learned reader will not think them quoted impertinently:

Αὐτίκα χαλκῆας μὲν ὑδείομεν Ἡφαιστοῖο,
Τευχηστὰς δ' Ἄρηος· ἐπακλῆρας δὲ χιλώνης
Ἀρτέμιδος· φοίβῳ δὲ, λύρης εὖ εἰδότας οἴμους.
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς ὤδιν ἀνάκλων
Θειότερον. Ver. 76, & seq.

¶ Præstantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus, *Jovis filios*, poetæ appellaverunt, ut Æacum, & Minoa, & Sarpedona: Ferocissimos et immanes et alienos ab omni humanitate tanquam e mari genitos, *Neptuni filios* dixerunt, Cyclopa, & Cercyona, & Scyrona, & Læstrygonas. A. Gellius, lib. xv. c. 21.

** Thus in the Argonautic expedition Typhis the pilot, and his mate Ergynus, were called the sons of Neptune. And when these died in the voyage, they were succeeded by Ancæus and Euphemus; and both of these, we are told, were the sons of Neptune, likewise. I chose to give the reader this instance, because, from this figure of speech, thus qualifying men any way distinguished in the Argonautic times, Sir Isaac Newton infers the low age of the Grecian Deities.

son of Mercury; a cultivator of the fine arts, the son of Apollo; a great warrior, the son of Mars; a beautiful woman, the daughter of Venus; and a good physician, the offspring of Æsculapius. Thus Homer,

" In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
" Which Podalirius and Machaon guide.
" To these his skill their *Parent-God*-imparts,
" Divine professors of the healing arts *."

Mr. POPE.

And that the poet meant no more than that they were excellent in their profession, appears from his giving to all the Egyptians the same original, where, speaking of their superior eminence in the art of physic, he says,

" These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
" Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
" Who sway'd the sceptre, where prolific Nile
" With various simples clothes the fat'ned soil—
" From *Pæon sprung*, their patron God imparts
" To all the Pharian race his healing arts †."

Mr. FENTON.

5. The last cause I shall mention were the dotages of judicial Astrology. But whether giving to each of their Gods a Star over which to preside was the *cause* or *effect* of this folly, may be disputed; because, I believe, it was sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Yet it gave frequent occasion to call an extraordinary person the son of that God or Goddess under whose planet he was born.

Thus have I endeavoured to discover and lay open the true causes of all that confusion which goes under the name of the *History of the heroic ages*. Those false facts, therefore, and the mistaken conclusion drawn from them by Sir Isaac Newton to support the identity of Osiris and Sesostris, being detected, general tradition, which vouches for their real diversity, is reinstated in

* Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιῶ δύο παῖδε,
Ἰητῆρε ἀγαθώ, Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων·
Τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἵστι χόωντο. Ιλ. β. ver. 731.

† Ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπίσταται περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ Παιήονός εἰσι γενέθλης. Οδ. δ. ver. 231.

its

its credit: whose testimony likewise, as I have gone along, I have not neglected occasionally to support by divers corroborating circumstances.

I might indeed have taken a very different route through this *Land of Fables*, to the confutation of his hypothesis; by opposing adventure to adventure, and genealogy to genealogy; and have formed upon them, as others have done before me, a system of chronology directly opposite to our illustrious Author's. But this, instead of relieving the reader, would only have put him in mind of the old man's complaint; *Incertior sum multo quam dudum.* I have therefore attempted a way of greater certainty, in an explanation of the general principles and practices of ancient Superstition; of which, their mythologic history was the fruits: And by this it appears that all these pretended Facts, on which Sir Isaac Newton supports his hypothesis of the identity of OSIRIS and SESOSTRIS, are mere Fables, invented to confound all times and æras, and therefore most unhappily chosen for one of the means of regulating and reforming the ancient Chronology.

III.

But although I could have given no reasonable account of these mistaken facts, from which Sir Isaac Newton infers the identity, I was still able to prove the falsehood of that supposed identity, by the consequences that follow from it: not only by those which our great Author would not, but by those which he would, venture to admit. Both of which directly contradict SCRIPTURE and the NATURE OF THINGS. So that, as before I proved the error of his conclusion from the falsehood of his premisses; I now begin at the other end, and shall prove the falsehood of his premisses from the error of his conclusion.

I. I have, in the third and fourth sections of this book, shewn at large, from sacred Scripture, illustrated and confirmed by profane Antiquity, that Egypt was a polite and powerful Empire at the egression of the Israelites. This is alone sufficient to overthrow Sir Isaac Newton's whole system. But to make the truth still more evident, it may be proper to take a particular, though short, view of the necessary consequences which follow from the supposed

posed identity of Osiris and Sesostris. These may be divided into two parts; such as our great author hath ventured to own; and such as, for their apparent falsehood, he was obliged to pass over in silence.

To begin with the latter. Those very histories on which Sir Isaac builds his identity, tell us that Osiris and his wife and sister Isis were the professed patron and patroness of nascent arts, the very instruments of husbandry being invented in their time; that he first taught the culture of the vine *; and abolished the bad habit, his savage Subjects had of eating one another †: and that she taught them to sow corn ‡; and gave them their first system of laws ||.—But if Osiris were Sesostris, all these fine discoveries were made but two generations before the Trojan war, and full five hundred years after the egression of the Israelites from Egypt: And then what are we to think of the Bible? But the gross absurdity of these things hindered our Author from receiving them into the consequences of his new system: yet these standing on the same authority with the consequences, he hath thought fit to receive, he was obliged to pass them over in silence. But though he be silent, we should not On the contrary, we must insist that he hath transgressed the plainest rules of fair reasoning, which required him, either to receive the consequences he hath rejected, or to reject those which he hath received; or lastly, to shew, that they stand upon a different authority. But he will do nothing of this; he picks and chuses as he likes best, and, what is not for his purpose, he leaves without notice. Diodorus says, that Osiris abolished the custom of human sacrifices;

* Εὑρεθῆν δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν τῦ ταύτης καρπῦ προσεπινοήσαντα, πρῶτον οἴνῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους τήν τε φυλείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῦ οἴνου, καὶ τὴν συσκομιδὴν αὐτῦ καὶ τήρησιν. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 10.

† Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. Id. p. 9.

‡ Εὑρέσης μὲν Ἴσιδος τόν τε τῦ σπυρῦ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, (φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε κατὰ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) τῦ δὲ Ὀσίριδος ἐπινοησαμένου τὴν τούτων καλλιέργειαν τῶν καρπῶν. Id. ib.

|| Θεῖναι δέ φασι καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἶσιν, καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλοις δικάζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμου βίας καὶ ὕβρεως παίσασθαι, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβον. Id. ib.

that he built the city of Thebes; that he regulated the worship of the Gods; and conquered many nations. These things Sir Isaac, who takes Osiris for Sesostris, readily admits. The same historian says, that this Osiris first cultivated the vine; restrained his Subjects from eating one another; and found out the arts of life; that his wife Isis invented agriculture, and gave the first law to the Egyptians; but all this, Sir Isaac tacitly rejects. Yet if one part of the Sicilian's account be of better authority than the rest, it is that, which says, *Isis invented agriculture:* for he expressly tells us, that so it was found written on a large column, in hieroglyphic characters, half consumed by time, then standing in the city of Nysa in Arabia *: and, without his telling, we are well assured, that her *mysteries* had very early brought the knowledge of the fact to all the neighbouring nations.

II. Amongst the consequences which the great Author hath thought fit to admit; some are these, That *instruments of war*; *horses for military service*; *animal food*; *the exact distribution of property*; *alphabetic letters*; and *the well-peopling of Egypt*; were all the product of the Sesostrian age.

1. Vulcan, he says, who lived even to the times of the Trojan war, invented Armour, and was, on that account, deified by the Egyptians. His words are these, *He* [Vulcan] *reigned there* [in Cyprus and Byblus] *till a very great age, living to the times of the Trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich—And for assisting the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he was deified by his friends the Egyptians, by the name of Baal-Canaan or Vulcan: for Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos; and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, and found out copper in Cyprus; and the smith's hammer, and anvil, and tongs and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of brass and iron, and was the only king celebrated in history for working in metals, and was king*

* Ἐγὼ Ἶσις εἰμὶ ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας—Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως. Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑροῦσα. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 16.

of

of Lemnos, and the husband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan: and the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very sumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan. pp. 223—225. Here we have a Hero, living till the time of the Trojan war, not only the inventor of arms, but likewise of the very tools employed in making them. That this was our Author's meaning, is plain from what he tells us of the Egyptians fighting with clubs in the time of Sesostris (p. 215); which certainly was for want of better weapons: and still plainer, from what he tells of Vulcan's being made a God; which, certainly, was for a NEW INVENTION. If I should now shew, by a formal enumeration of particulars, how all here said, contradicts the BIBLE, the reader would think me disposed to trifle with him. Instead of this, I shall but just observe, how ill it agrees with HOMER: who seems, indeed, to make Vulcan the Patron-God of the Armourers, but, at the same time, makes both him, and the invention, the product of a much earlier age. From the poem of the Trojan war it appears that military weapons had been then of tried use; and Vulcan, and his wife Venus, Deities of long standing. Nor can it be objected that the poet hath here given us the picture of his own times. He was a stricter observer of decorum: as may be seen amongst other instances, from a celebrated one taken notice of by the critics, that though, in his days, Cavalry were common, yet he brings none to the siege of Troy, because those times had not yet learnt their use. Nor was he less knowing than exact; for he was possessed of the songs and poems of his ancestors; in which he found all the particulars of that famous expedition *. Now, if military weapons, at the time of the Trojan war, had been long in use amongst the Greeks, it is hardly possible they should have been just invented in Egypt.

2. Our author makes Sesostris's conquest of Libya the occasion of furnishing Egypt with Horses. *After the conquest of Libya* (says he) *by which Egypt was furnished with horses, and furnished Solomon and his friends, he prepared a fleet,* &c. p. 215. The illus-

* See note [HHIIH] at the end of this Book.

trious Writer is here speaking of the original of those civil advantages, for which ancient Egypt was so much celebrated. He had before, and afterwards, told us his thoughts of their *astronomy, navigation, letters, names,* and *weapons of war.* We cannot therefore but understand what he here says, of the *Libyan horses,* to mean, that the conquest of that country was the first occasion of Egypt's abounding in Horse. But this directly contradicts holy Scripture, which assures us that they abounded in Horse long before. Their pursuit of the Israelites is thus described,—*And Pharaoh made ready his chariot, and took his people with him. And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them.—The Egyptians pursued after them (all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh and his horsemen and his army.)—. And the Egyptians pursued after them to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots and his horsemen**. Sir Isaac (p. 167.) seems to have been aware of this evidence against him, and endeavours to turn it on the side of his hypothesis. *In the days of* Moses (says he) *all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh pursued* Israel, WERE BUT SIX HUNDRED. *Exod.* xiv. 7. This is a strange mistake. The *six hundred,* mentioned in the place quoted, are expressly said to be the *chosen chariots,* that is, the king's guard; for over and above these, *all the chariots of Egypt,* an indefinite number, were in the pursuit. Besides, the number of horses is not to be estimated from the chariots, because there was an army of *horsemen* likewise in this expedition.

However, by Sir Isaac's own confession, it appears that Egypt abounded with Horse much earlier than the time he here assigns. For the vast number of Philistim Horse brought into the field, in the second year of the reign of Saul, in an army consisting of thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen, came all, in our author's opinion, from Egypt. *The Canaanites* (says he) *had their Horses from Egypt; and—from the great army of the Philistims against Saul, and the great number of their Horses, I seem to gather that the*

* Exod. xiv. 6, 7—9—23.

shepherds

shepherds had newly relinquished Egypt, and joined them. p. 167.—Now if they had such plenty of horse in the time of Saul, how was it that they were first furnished from Libya in the time of Sesac?

But another circumstance in sacred History will shew us, that Egypt, which supplied Canaan, abounded in Horse still much earlier. In the law of Moses, we find this prohibition, personally directed to their future King: *he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to* EGYPT, TO THE END THAT HE SHOULD MULTIPLY HORSES: *forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way**. Now the reason, here given, being to prevent all commerce with Egypt, we must conclude, if it appear that Egypt, at this time, supplied other nations with horses, that the law extended to their Judges as well as Kings. But they did supply other nations. For we find the confederate Canaanites (who, by Sir Isaac's confession, had their horses from Egypt) warring against Joshua, *they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with Horses and chariots very many* †. The law therefore did certainly respect the Judges. And the reasoning is confirmed by fact. For Joshua, when he had defeated these confederate hosts, *houghed their Horses and burnt their chariots with fire* ‡, according to the commandment of the Lord: observing it in the same rigorous manner in which it was obeyed by their Kings, to whom the law was personally addressed: For thus Ahab destroyed the horses and chariots of Benhadad ‖. So that I now conclude the other way from this Law, that a general traffic with Egypt for Horses was very common in the times of Moses and Joshua. Consequently Egypt was not furnished with Horses from Libya in the time of Sir Isaac Newton's Sesostris.

But it may give strength to this argument, as well as light to the sacred Text, to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this PROHIBITION; which we shall find so weighty and various as to appear worthy of its Author, and accommodated only to a Law of divine original.

* Deut. xvii. 16. † Jos. xi. 4.
‡ Jos. xi. 9. ‖ 1 Kings xx. 21.

1. The first reason (which was expressly delivered with the Law) is, properly, RELIGIOUS. He [the King], says the Law, *shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply Horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way*; i. e. He should not establish a body of Cavalry, because this could not be effected without sending into Egypt, with which people the Lord had forbidden any communication, as, of all foreign commerce, that was the most dangerous to true Religion *.

When Solomon had violated this Law, and multiplied Horses to such excess that, we are told, he *had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen* †, it was soon attended with those fatal consequences which the Law had foretold. For this wisest of Kings having likewise, in violation of another Law of Moses, married Pharaoh's daughter ‡, (the early fruits of this commerce) and then, by a repetition of the same crime, but a transgression of another law, had espoused more *strange women* ‖; they first of all, in defiance of a fourth Law, persuaded him to build them idol Temples for their use; and afterwards, against a fifth Law, still more fundamental, brought him to erect other Temples for his own ¶. Now the original of all this mischief was the forbidden traffic with Egypt for Horses: For thither, we are told, the agents of Solomon were sent to mount his Cavalry. *And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, which he placed in the chariot-cities, and with the king at Jerusalem.—And he had Horses brought out of Egypt, and linen-yarn: the kings merchants received the linen-yarn at a price. And they fetcht up and brought forth out of Egypt a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and an Horse for an hundred and fifty* **. Nay, this great King even turned factor for the neighbouring monarchs. *And so brought they out Horses for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the*

* See the next section.
† 1 Kings iv. 26.
‡ Ib. iii, 1.
‖ 1 Kings xi. 1.
¶ Ib. xi. 7, 8.
** 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

kings

*kings of Syria by their means**. This opprobrious commerce was kept up by his Successors; and attended with the same pernicious consequences. Isaiah, with his usual majesty, denounces the mischiefs of this traffic; and foretels that one of the good effects of leaving it, would be the forsaking their idolatries. *Wo to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on* HORSES, *and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in* HORSEMEN, *because they are very strong: but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord.—For thus hath the Lord spoken unto me, Like as the lion, and the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the Lord of Hosts come down to fight for mount Zion, and for the hill thereof—Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted. For in that day every man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin* †.

2. The second reason against *multiplying Horses* I take to have been properly POLITICAL. The Israelites, separated by GOD for his peculiar People, under his government as King, must needs have been designed for the proprietors of one certain country. Accordingly the land of Canaan, the possession of the *seven nations*, was marked out for their proper inheritance. Within these limits they were to be confined; it being foreign to the nature of their Institution to make conquests, or to extend their dominion. But the expulsion of the *seven nations* being, as we shall see presently, to be effected by the extraordinary assistance of their KING, JEHOVAH, their successes must, of course, be full and rapid. But nothing is so impatient of bounds as a Multitude flesht with easy victories: the projects of such a people are always going on from conquest to conquest; as appears from the Mahometan Arabs, under the same circumstances, led out to conquest by a *false* Prophet, as the Israelites by a *true*. Now to defeat this so natural a disposition, in a nation not designed for Empire, a Law is given against MULTIPLYING HORSES; than

* 2 Chron. i. 17. † Is. xxxi. 1. 4. 6, 7.

which nothing can be conceived more effectual. The Country that confined them, was rocky and mountainous, and therefore unfit for the breed and sustentation of horse. Telemachus is commended for giving this reason for refusing the horses of Menelaus:

Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei;
Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
Porrectus spatiis, nec multæ prodigus herbæ *.

Besides, when they had once gotten possession of these mountains, they had little need of horse to preserve their conquest; as all skilled in military matters very well understand †. The Israelites therefore, had they been either wise or pious, would soon have found that their true strength, as well political as religious, lay in Infantry: As that of Egypt, for a contrary reason, was in their Cavalry. Hence that people, who well understood their advantages, so industriously propagated the breed of Horses, as the surest defence of their territories. There is a remarkable passage, in the history of these times, to support what I here advance. When Benhadad, the gentile king of Syria, whose forces consisted of chariots and horsemen, had warred with ill success against the king of Israel, the Ministers, in a council of war, delivered their advice to him in these terms: *Their Gods are Gods of the* HILLS, *therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the* PLAIN, *and surely we shall be stronger than they.—And he hearkened unto their voice, and did so* ‡. From this passage I collect, 1. That the army of Israel, consisting all of Infantry, had chosen the situation of the hills; and this with proper military skill. 2. That their constant success in such a disposition of their forces occasioned this advice of the Ministers of Benhadad. These men, possessed with the general notion of local tutelary Deities, finding the arms of Israel always successful on the hills, took it for the more eminent manifestation of the power of their Gods. *Their Gods*, say they, *are Gods of the hills.* Their superstition dictated the first part of their advice; and their

* Hor. † See note [IIII] at the end of this Book.

‡ 1 Kings xx. 23, & seq.

skill

skill in war, the second,—*let us fight against them in the plain.* The operations of the war had been hitherto most absurd: they had attacked an army of Infantry with one of Cavalry, on hills and in defiles.

But this want of Horse (which kind of military force neither the product of their country could well support, nor the defence of it need) would effectually prevent any attempt of extending their dominions either into the Lesser Asia, Mesopotamia, or Egypt. All which neighbouring countries being stretched out into large and extended plains, could not be safely invaded without a numerous Cavalry. In this view, therefore, the wisdom of the Law can never be sufficiently admired.

3. But the third reason of the prohibition was evidently to afford a lasting MANIFESTATION OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE by which the Israelites were conducted, in taking possession of the land of Canaan. I have shewn that, when once settled, they might very well defend the possession without the help of Cavalry: But to conquer it without Cavalry, and from a warlike people abounding in Horse, was more than a raw unpractised Infantry could ever have performed alone. No more need be said to convince military men of the extreme difference of the two cases. To others it may be proper to observe,

1. That in the invasion of a country, the invaded may chuse their ground; and as it is their interest to avoid coming to a decisive action, so, being amidst their own native stores and provisions, they have it in their power to decline it. On the contrary, the invader must attack his enemies wherever he finds them posted. For, by reason of the scantiness and uncertainty of supplies in an enemy's country, he has not, for the most part, time to draw them, by military stratagems, from their advantages. We find this verified in the history of Benhadad, mentioned above. He had invaded Israel; but this people disposing of their Infantry with soldier-like address, he was forced to fight them on the *hills*, where only they were to be met with. After many unsuccessful engagements, his Ministers proposed a new plan of operation; to attack the enemy in the *plains*. And truly the advice was good: but how to put it in execution

tion was the question; for they being the assailants, the Israelites were masters of their ground. So that, after all, there was no other way of bringing them into the plains but by beating them from the hills. And there they must have stuck, till famine and desertion had ended the quarrel. In this exigence, their blasphemy against the God of Israel enabled them to put their counsels, against him, in execution. They fancied, according to the superstition of that time, and so gave out, that *he was God of the hills, but not of the valleys.* His omnipotence being thus disputed, He placed his people in the plains; and sent his Prophet to predict the coming vengeance on his enemies. *And there came a man of* GOD, *and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the Lord, Because the Syrians have said, the Lord is God of the hills, but he is not God of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord**.

2. Secondly, we may observe, that the possessors of mountainous regions may so dispose their Fortresses, with which they cover their country, as to make an invader's Cavalry absolutely useless; and consequently to have no occasion for any of their own. But the invaders of such a place where Cavalry is in use, and consequently the defences disposed in a contrary manner, so as best to favour the operations of Horse, the invaders, I say, go to certain destruction without a body of Horse to support their Infantry. This then being the very situation of affairs when the Israelites invaded Canaan, and conquered it, (for till then they had not begun to transgress the Law against Cavalry) I conclude that they must have been MIRACULOUSLY assisted. The Arabians, in a like expedition, thought it so extraordinary a thing to conquer without Horse, that Mahomet made it a law, when this happened, for the spoils not to be divided according to the stated rule, but for all to go to the Prophet himself, as a *deodand* or a gift from God alone†. Yet Mahomet never pretended to make his con-

* 1 Kings xx. 28.

† *Et id, quod concessit in prædam Deus legato suo ex illis: Non impulistis super illud ullos equos, neque camelos* [i. e. non acquisistis illud

conquests without Horse, but used them on every occasion of need.

To return, we see then how little reason Sir Isaac Newton had for saying that Sesostris's conquest of Libya was the occasion of Egypt's being furnished with horse, so as to supply the neighbouring countries. But the instance was particularly ill chosen: for Sesostris, whom he makes the author of this benefit to Egypt, did, by his filling the country with canals, defeat the chief use and service of Cavalry; with which, till this time, Egypt had abounded; but which from henceforth we hear no more of*.

3. Again, in consequence of the same system, our great author seems to think that animal food was not customary amongst the Egyptians till about this time. *The Egyptians* (says he) *originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abstained from animals, and* THEREFORE *abominated shepherds: Menes* [the third from Sesostris] *taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets, and brought in amongst them a sumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life.* p. 241. Now, whoever brought in the *eating of flesh*, and a *voluptuous life*, did it (as we are assured from Scripture) before the time of Joseph. I have proved, in my account of their Physicians as delivered in the Bible, that they were then a luxurious people †. From the dream of Pharaoh's baker, compared with Joseph's interpretation ‡, it appears, they eat animal food;

illud ope equorum aut camelorum]; *sed Deus prævalere facit legatos suos, super quem vult: nam Deus est super omnem rem potens.* Sur. 59. Alcor. ver. 6.

* Νοςήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωςρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ—τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐοῦσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὥρυσσον ἐποίεόν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τοπρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην, καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα, ἄνιππος, καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε. Herod. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 108.

† See p. 95, and following, of this volume.

‡ "And the chief baker said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, "and behold I had three white baskets on my head, and in the upper-"most basket there was of all manner of BAKE-MEATS for Pharaoh, "and the birds did eat them out of the basket.—And Joseph an-"swered and said—The three baskets are three days. Yet within "three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall "hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee." Gen. xl. 17, & seq.

food; and, from the story of Joseph's entertainment of his brethren, it appears, that their enmity to shepherds was not occasioned by these Hebrews eating animal food, which, Sir Isaac says, the Egyptians abstained from. *And he said to the ruler of his house, Bring these men home, and* SLAY, *and make ready: for these men shall dine with me at noon. And the man did as Joseph bade: and the man brought the men into Joseph's house—and they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians.—And he took and sent messes unto them from before him**. Here, we see the common provision for their entertainment was animal food. And no one can doubt whether Joseph conformed to the Egyptian diet. He sat single out of state, with regard to the Egyptians; the Egyptians sat apart, with regard to the Shepherds; and Both were supplied from the Governor's table, which was furnished from the Steward's slaughter-house. The truth of this is farther seen from the murmuring of the Israelites in the wilderness, when they said, *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the* FLESH-POTS, *and when we did eat bread to the full*†. Now we can scarce suppose the Egyptians would permit their slaves, whom they kept in so hard oppression, to riot in *flesh-pots*, while, as Sir Isaac supposes, *they themselves fared hardly and abstained from Animals.*

4. Again, he supposes, that the exact division of the land of Egypt into Property was first made in the time of Sesostris. *Sesostris* (says he) *upon his returning home, divided Egypt by measure amongst the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to surveying and geometry.* p. 218. And in another place, he brings down the original of geometry still lower; even as late as Mæris, the fifth from Sesostris. *Mæris* (says he)—*for preserving the division of Egypt into equal shares amongst the soldiers—wrote a book of surveying, which gave a beginning to geometry.* p. 248. Let the reader now consider, whether it be possible to reconcile this

* Gen. xliii. 16, 17—32—34. † Exod. xvi. 3.

with

with the following account of Joseph's administration. *And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold* EVERY MAN HIS FIELD, *because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof. Only the land of the Priests bought he not; for the Priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them; therefore they sold not their lands. Then Joseph said unto the people, Behold I have bought you this day, and your land for Pharaoh: lo here is the seed for you, and ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass, in the increase, that you shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food and for them of your own households, and for food for your little ones. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; except the land of the Priests only, which became not Pharaoh's**. Here we have the description of a country very exactly set out and settled in private property. It would afford room for variety of reflections: I shall confine myself to the following. If private property had not been, at this time, established with the utmost order and exactness; what occasion had Joseph to recur to that troublesome expedient of transplanting the People, reciprocally, from one end of Egypt to the other? His purpose in it is evident: it was to secure Pharaoh in his new property, by defeating the ill effects of that fondness which people naturally have to an old paternal inheritance. But what fondness have men for one spot, rather than another, of lands lying in common, or but newly appropriated? Were the Egyptians at this time, as Sir Isaac Newton seems to suppose, in the state of the unsettled Nomades, they would have gone from one end of Egypt to the other, without Joseph's sending; and without the least regret for any thing they had left behind.

But without weakening the great man's conjecture by Scripture-history, How does it appear from the simple fact of Sesostris's dividing the large champaign country

* Gen. xlvii. 20, & seq.

of

of Egypt into square fields, by cross-cut canals, that this *was a dividing Egypt by measure, and giving a beginning to surveying and geometry?* If we examine the cause and the effects of that improvement, we shall find that neither one nor the other part of his conclusion can be deduced from it. The *cause* of making these canals was evidently to drain the swampy marshes of that vast extended level; and to render the whole labourable*. But a work of this kind is never projected till a people begin to want room. And they never want room till private property hath been well established; and the necessaries of life, by the advancement of civil arts, are become greatly increased. As to the *effects*; Ground, once divided by such boundaries, was in no danger of a change of land-marks; and consequently had small occasion for future surveys. So that had not the Egyptians found out geometry before this new division, 'tis probable they had never found it out at all. The most likely cause, therefore, to be assigned for this invention, was the necessity of frequent surveys, while the annual overflowings of the Nile were always obliterating such land-marks as were not, like those cross-cut canals, wrought deep into the soil. But these put a total end to that inconvenience. Indeed, Herodotus seems to give it as his opinion, that geometry had its rise from this improvement of Sesostris †. But we are to remember what hath been said of the incredible Antiquity which the ancient Greek writers, and particularly Aristotle ‡, assigned to this Hero: the natural consequence of the Egyptian's having confounded the ages and actions, though never the persons, of Osiris and Sesostris.

5. The next inference this illustrious Writer makes from his system is, that *letters were unknown in Egypt* till the time of David. *When the Edomites* (says he) *fled from David with their young king Aadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither also the use of letters: for letters were then in use amongst the posterity of Abraham—and there is no instance of let-*

* See note [KKKK] at the end of this Book.

† Δοκέοι δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη ἐξευρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπαγελθεῖν. Herodot. l. ii. c. 109.

‡ See p. 228.

ters,

ters, for writing down sounds, being in use before the days of David in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham. The Egyptians ascribed this invention to Thoth the secretary of Osiris; and therefore letters began to be in use in Egypt in the days of Thoth, that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe. p. 209. It appears from the two stone-tables of the Law, and from the engravings on Aaron's breast-plate, that letters were in common use amongst the Israelites at the time of their egression from Egypt. Now supposing alphabetic writing to be amongst the peculiar advantages of the chosen people, was it not more likely that the Egyptians should learn it of them during their long abode in that country, than from the fugitive *Edomites*, if they had indeed *carried thither* (which however is a mere conjecture) *the use of letters?* But when we consider that alphabetic writing was introduced amongst the chosen people some time between the age of Jacob and that of Moses, it seems most probable that they learnt it of the Egyptians. But, for a full confutation of this fancy, and of the arguments that support it, I am content to refer the reader to what I have occasionally observed, though to other purposes, in my discourse of the Egyptian hieroglyphics *.

6. Lastly, he observes, that *Egypt was so thinly peopled before the birth of Moses, that Pharaoh said of the Israelites,* " Behold the people of the children of " Israel are more and mightier than we;" *and that to prevent their multiplying, and growing too strong, he caused their male children to be drowned.* p. 186. Yet this country, *so thinly peopled at the birth of Moses,* was, we find from Scripture, so vastly populous, by the time Moses was sent upon his mission, that it could keep in slavery six hundred thousand men besides children †; at a time, when they were most powerfully instigated to recover their liberty; which yet, after all, they were unable to effect but by the frequent desolation of the hand of GOD upon their insolent and cruel masters. And is this to be reconciled with Sir Isaac's notion of their preceding thinness? But he likewise supports himself on Scripture.

* See p. 116. & seq. † Exod. xii. 37.

Egypt

Egypt was so thinly peopled—*that Pharaoh said—Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we.* Strange interpretation! The Scripture relation of the matter is in these words; *And Pharaoh said unto his people, Behold the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them: lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them Taskmasters, to afflict them with their burdens.—But the more they afflicted them, the more they grew and multiplied**. By the whole turn of this relation it appears, that the *more and mightier* signify only *more prolific and healthy.* And that was in truth the case. The Egyptians of this time, as we have shewn †, were very luxurious: While the manners of the Israelites concurred with their condition to render them hardy and fruitful, by an abstemious and laborious course of life. On this account the king expresses his fear. But, of what? certainly not that they should subdue their masters; but that they should *escape out of bondage:* which, even to the very moment of their egression, was the sole object of the Egyptian's fear.—*Lest* (says he) *they multiply; and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and* SO GET THEM UP OUT OF THE LAND. This was a reasonable apprehension: for Egypt was in every age subject to the incursions of that fierce and barbarous people the Arabians, on that very side which the Israelites inhabited: who, possessing their own District, unmixed with Egyptians, had the keys of the country in their hands, to admit or exclude an invader at their pleasure. A circumstance which would make the smallest province formidable to the most powerful kingdom. To prevent then so probable a danger, their taskmasters are ordered to increase their oppressions; and they groan under them without power to resist, till set free by the all-powerful hand of GOD.

Thus we see how Sir Issac Newton's system stands with regard to SACRED ANTIQUITY. What is still

* Exod. i. 9. & seq. † See p. 95. & seq.

worse,

worse, is it not only repugnant to the Bible, but even to ITSELF.

III. We have observed, that, by the casual confounding of the proper actions of Osiris and Sesostris with one another, each came to be, at the same time, the INVENTOR, and the PERFECTER, of the arts of life. This, which might have led our Author, the most penetrating of all writers, to the discovery of the ancient error in their history, served only to confirm him in his own; as placing the invention of civil arts low enough for the support of his general Chronology. However, it is very certain, that the making their *invention* and *perfection* the product of the same age is directly contrary to the very NATURE OF THINGS. Which if any one doubt, let him examine the general history of mankind; where he will see that the advances, from an emerging barbarity, through civil policy, to refined arts and polished manners, when not given them, ready fitted to their hands, by neighbouring nations forward to impart them, have been ever the slow and gradual progress of many and successive ages. Yet these, our illustrious Author (in consequence of the supposed identity of his two Heroes) makes to spring up, to flourish, and to come to their perfection, all within the compass of one single reign. Or rather, which is still more intolerable, he makes this extraordinary age of Sesostris to be distinguished from all others by an inseparable mixture of savage and polished manners. Which is so unnatural, so incredible, so impossible a circumstance, that, were there only this to oppose against his system, it would be a sufficient demonstration of its falsehood.

To shew then, that Sir Isaac Newton, by fairly and honestly taking in these consequences of his system, hath indeed subjected it to this disgrace, I shall give two instances. The one taken from his account of the *state of War*, the other of the *state of Architecture*, during this period.

1. Our Author having made the Egyptian Hercules to be Sesostris, is forced to own that the war in Libya was carried on with clubs. *After these things, he* [Hercules or Sesostris] *invaded Libya, and fought the Africans with clubs, and thence is painted with a club*

in his hand. Here, the great Writer hath given us the very picture of the Iroquosian or Huron Savages warring with a neighbouring tribe. And without doubt intended it for such a representation; as appears, first, from his immediately adding these words of Hyginus: *Afri & Ægyptii* PRIMUM *fustibus dimicaverunt, postea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus est, unde* bellum *dictum est.* p. 215. For we are to observe that the title of the chapter, in which these words are found, is, *quis quid invenerit* *: and secondly, from his supposing Vulcan (whom he makes to live at this time) the inventor of military weapons. Yet this, according to the great Author, was after Sesostris's conquest of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians: it was after his Father's building a fleet on the Red sea, with which he coasted Arabia Felix, went into the Persian Gulf, and penetrated even into India: [pp. 214, 215.] and but a little before Sesostris's great expedition for the conquest of the habitable world. At which time we see him set out with the most splendid retinue of a Court, and the most dreadful apparatus of War; we find him defeat great armies; subdue mighty kingdoms (amongst the rest Judæa, where all kind of military arms offensive and defensive had been in use for many ages); people large cities; and leave behind him many stately monuments of his power and magnificence.

2. Thus again, Sir Isaac tells us, that Tosorthrus or Æsculapius, an Egyptian of the time of Sesostris, discovered the art of building with square stones †. Yet his contemporary, Sesostris, he tells us, *divided Egypt into* 36 *nomes or counties, and dug a canal from the Nile, to the head city of every nome; and with the earth dug out of it, he caused the ground of the city to be raised higher, and built a temple in every city for the worship of the nome; &c.* p. 218. And soon after, Amenophis, the third from him, *built Memphis; and ordered the worship of the Gods of Egypt; and built a palace at Abydus, and the Memnonia at This and Susa, and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis* ‡.

* Fab. cclxxiv.

† —*The building with square stones* (says he) *being found out by* Tosorthrus, *the* Æsculapius of Egypt. Page 247.

‡ See note [LLLL] at the end of this Book.

Now,

Now, in this odd mixture of barbarity and politeness, strength and impotence, riches and poverty, there is such an inconsistency in the character of ages, as shews it to be the mere invention of professed fabulists, whose known talent it is to

" Make former times shake hands with latter,
" And that which was before come after;"

though composed of tales so ill concerted, and contradictory, as shews, they wrote upon no consistent plan, but each as his own temporary views and occasions required.

When I entered on a confutation of Sir Isaac Newton's *Egyptian Chronology* (for with that only I have here to do), I was willing for the greater satisfaction of the reader to set his arguments for the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris*, on which that Chronology was founded, in the strongest and clearest light. On this account I took them as I found them collected, ranged in order, and set together in one view, with the greatest advantage of representation, by the very worthy and learned Master of the Charterhouse, in a professed apology for our great Philosopher. But this liberty the learned writer hath been pleased to criticise in the Latin edition * of the tracts to which that apology was prefixed—" I am " not ignorant (says he †) that the author of *The Divine* " *Legation*

* *De veris annis D. N. Jesu Christi natali & emortuali Dissertationes duæ Chronologicæ.*

† " Non nescimus nuperrime accidisse, ut Vir ingenio & eru-
" ditione præstans, quum ratus sit ad *divinam legationem Mosis*
" *demonstrandum* aliquo modo pertinere, ut probetur Osiris non esse
" idem cum Sesostri, omnia huc allata in lusum jocumque verterit,
" instituta comparatione Arthuri illius fabulosi cum Wilhelmo Nor-
" manno, quos æquè bonis rationibus in unum hominem conflari
" posse ait (quamvis nihil fere habeant inter se commune, aut simile)
" ac nos Osirin cum Sesostri confundimus. Et de hac re disputa-
" tionem in 70 paginas et ultra producit. In qua tamen hæc
" nostra de Sesostri neque negat, neque refellit, sed irridet. Alia
" vero quædam Newtoni dicta de sero inventis ab aliquo rege artibus,
" armis, instrumentis oppugnat, et ea quidem parte causæ vincit.
" Nam ut ista longe ante Sesostris ætatem apud Ægyptios reperta
" sint, Scriptura sacra jubet credere; ab ullo unquam regum inventa
" esse haud ita certum. Sed ea prius non attigimus, ut quæ nihil
" ad propositum nostrum attinent, neque nunc nos movent, ut pedem

 " retrahamus

" *Legation* supposing it, some how or other, to concern " Moses's divine mission, to prove that Osiris was not " the same with Sesostris, hath lately turned all that is " here said into ridicule, by a comparison made between " the fabulous ARTHUR and WILLIAM the Norman; " who, he says, may be made one by as good reasons " (though they have scarce any thing alike or in common " with one another) as those which we have brought to " confound Osiris with Sesostris: and on this point he " draws out a disputation through seventy pages and " upwards; in which, however, he neither denies nor " confutes, but only laughs at what we have here said " of Sesostris. It is true indeed that some other of " Newton's assertions he does oppose; such as those " concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and in- " struments by some certain king; and in this part of " the argument he gets the better. For that these things " were found out by the Egyptians long before the age " of Sesostris, holy Writ commands us to believe: but " whether found out by any of their kings, is not so " certain. However, these were matters we never " touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpose; " nor do they yet induce us to recede from that con- " clusion of the famous Newton, that Sesac was Se- " sostris, Osiris, and Bacchus. But the cause being " now brought before the Public, let the learned deter- " mine of it." Thus far this candid and ingenuous writer.

He says, *the author of The Divine Legation supposes that it some how or other concerns Moses's divine mission to prove Osiris not the same with Sesostris*; which seems to imply that this learned person doth not see HOW it concerns it. And yet afterwards he owns, *that Scripture* (meaning the writings of Moses) *will not allow us to believe with Sir Isaac, that the invention of arts, arms, and instruments, was so late as the time of Sesostris.* Now it follows (as I have shewn) by certain consequence, that if Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same, then the invention of arts was as late as the time

" retrahamus ab ista Cl. Newtoni conclusione Sesacum, Sesostrim, " Osirin et Bacchum fuisse. Lite jam contestata judicent eruditi." In Dedic. pp. xii, xiii.

time of Sesostris. But this contradicting Scripture or the writings of Moses, as the learned person himself confesseth, the reader sees plainly, how *it concerns Moses's mission to prove Osiris not the same with Sesostris.*

The learned writer, speaking of the comparison I had made between Arthur and William the Norman, says, *they have scarce any thing alike or in common with one another.* I had brought together thirteen circumstances (the very number which the learned writer thinks sufficient to establish the identity of Osiris and Sesostris) in which they perfectly agree. I am persuaded he does not suspect me of falsifying their history. He must mean, therefore, that *thirteen* in my comparison, prove nothing, which, in his, prove every thing.

He goes on,—*in a disputation of seventy pages and upwards, the author of The Divine Legation neither denies nor confutes, but only laughs at what we have said of Sesostris.* What is it the learned writer *hath said of Sesostris?* Is it not this? That between his history and that of Osiris there are many strokes of resemblance: From whence he infers (with Sir Isaac) that these two Heroes were one and the same. Now if he means, I have neither *denied* nor *confuted* this resemblance, he says true. I had no such design. It is too well marked by Antiquity to be denied. Neither, let me add, did I *laugh at* it. What I *laughed* at (if my bringing a similar case is to be so called) was his inference from this resemblance, that therefore Osiris and Sesostris were one and the same. But then too I did more than *laugh:* I both *denied* and *confuted* it. First I *denied* it, by shewing that this resemblance might really be, though Osiris and Sesostris were two different men, as appeared by an equal resemblance in the actions of two different men, the British Arthur and William the Norman. But as the general history of ancient Egypt would not suffer us to believe all that the Greek writers have said of this resemblance, I then explained the causes which occasioned their mistaken accounts of the two persons, from whence so perfect a resemblance had arisen. Secondly, I *confuted* what the learned person had said of Sesostris, by shewing, from the concurrent testimony of Antiquity, and from several internal arguments deducible from that

testimony, that Osiris and Sesostris were in fact two different persons, living in two very distant ages.

The learned writer proceeds,—*It is true indeed that some other of Newton's assertions he does oppose; such as those concerning the late invention of arts, arms, and instruments; and in this part of the argument he gets the better.* But if I have the better here, it is past dispute I overthrow the whole hypothesis of the *identity of Osiris and Sesostris.* For, as to the resemblance, which Antiquity hath given them, that, considered singly when the pretended late invention of arts hath been proved a mistake, will indeed deserve only to be *laughed at.* But were it, as Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to prove, that the invention of arts was no earlier than the time of Sesostris or Sesac, there is then indeed an end of the ancient Osiris of Egypt; and the Hero, so much boasted of by that people, can be no other than the Sesostris of this author. For the very foundation of the existence of the ancient Osiris was his civilizing Egypt, and teaching them the Arts of life: But if this were done by Sesostris, or in his reign, then is HE the true Osiris of Egypt. As, on the contrary, were the invention of arts as early as SCRIPTURE-HISTORY represents it, then is Egypt to be believed, when she tells us that Osiris, their Inventor of arts, was many ages earlier than Sesostris their Conqueror: And consequently, all Sir Isaac Newton's *identity* separates and falls to pieces. In a word, take it which way you will, If Osiris were the same as Sesostris, then must the invention of Arts (for all Antiquity have concurred in giving that invention to Osiris) be as late as the age of Sesostris, the Sesac of Newton: but this, SCRIPTURE-HISTORY will not suffer us to believe. If, on the other hand, Osiris and Sesostris were not the same, then was the invention of Arts (and for the same reason) much earlier than the age of Sesostris; as indeed all mankind thought before the construction of this new Chronology. These were the considerations which induced that Great man, who so well understood the nature and force of evidence, to employ all the sagacity of his wonderful talents in proving the invention of Arts to be about the age of his Sesostris or Sesac. And is it possible he should have a follower

who

who cannot see that he hath done this? or the necessity he had of doing it? It will be said, perhaps, "that Sir Isaac has, indeed, argued much for the low invention of Arts: but had neither inforced it under the name of an argument, nor stated it in the form here represented." The objection would ill become a follower of Newton, who knows that his Master's method, as well in these his critical as in his physical inquiries, was to form the principal members of his demonstration with an unornamented brevity, and leave the supplial of the small connecting parts to his reader's sagacity. Besides, in so obvious, so capital, so necessary an argument for this *identity*, it had been a ridiculous distrust of common sense, after he had spent so much pains in endeavouring to prove the *low invention of Arts*, to have ended his reasoning in this formal way: "And now, Reader, take notice that this is a conclusive, and perhaps the only conclusive argument for the *identity* of Osiris and Sesostris." Lastly, let me observe, that the very reason which induced Sir Isaac to be so large in the establishment of his point, *the low invention of Arts*, induced me to be as large in the subversion of it. And now some satisfactory account, I hope, is given of the *seventy long pages*.

What follows is still more unaccountable—*However these were matters* (says the learned writer, speaking of the invention of Arts) *we never touched upon, as relating nothing to our purpose.* Here I cannot but lament the learned writer's ill fortune. There was but this very circumstance in the book he would defend, which is *essential to his purpose*, and this he hath given up as *nothing to his purpose*; and more unlucky still, on a review of the argument, he hath treated it as an error in his author, who took so much pains about it; but yet as an error that doth not at all affect the point in question. For,

He concludes thus—*Nor do they yet induce me to recede from that conclusion of the famous Newton, that Sesac was Sesostris, Osiris and Bacchus.*—Sesac, as I said before, I have no concern with. And as to Bacchus, it is agreed that this was only one of the names of Osiris. The thing I undertook to prove was, that

Osiris and Sesostris were not the same person: but in doing this, I did not mean to say that Osiris was not one of the names of Sesostris. This is a very different thing: and the rather to be taken notice of, because I suspect a quibble in the words of the learned writer, which would confound the difference. Nor is my suspicion unreasonable. For I have met with some of his most learned followers, who have ventured to say, that Sir Isaac meant no more than that Sesostris was AN Osiris. But if he meant no more, I would allow him to mean any thing; and never to have his meaning disputed. I, for my part, and so I suppose every body else, understood him to mean, "That the old Osiris, famous, amongst the Egyptians, for Legislation and the invention of the Arts of life, was the very same man with Sesostris, whom these Egyptians make to be a different man, of a later age, and famous for the Conquest of the habitable world." This was the proposition I undertook to confute. Wherein I endeavoured to shew, "that there was a real Osiris, such as the Egyptians represented him, much earlier than their real Sesostris." And now (to use this writer's words) *the cause being brought before the Public, let the learned determine of it.* As to the other point, that Sesostris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal causes of that confusion in their stories, which hath produced a similitude of actions, whereon Sir Isaac Newton layeth the foundation of their IDENTITY.

But if Sir Isaac Newton and his learned Advocate have paid too little deference to Antiquity, there are, who, in a contrary extreme, would pay a great deal too much. The learned Dr. Pococke, in his book of Travels, introduceth his discourse *On the mythology of the ancient Egyptians* in this extraordinary manner: "As "the mythology, or fabulous religion of the ancient "Egyptians, may be looked on, in a great measure, as "the foundation of the heathen Religion in most other "parts; so it may not be improper to give some ac-"count of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the most "ancient authors, which may give some light both to "the description of Egypt, and also to the history of "that

" that country. We may suppose, that the Ancients " were the best judges of the nature of their Religion; " and consequently, that all interpretations of their " Mythology, by MEN OF FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, " that have no sort of foundation in their writings, are " forced, and such as might never be intended by them. " On the contrary, it is necessary to retrench several " things the Ancients themselves seem to have invented, " and grafted on true history; and, in order to account " for many things, the Genealogies and Alliances they " mention must in several respects be false or erro- " neous, and seem to have been invented to accommo- " date the honours of the same Deities to different " persons, they were obliged to deify, who lived at dif- " ferent times; and so they were obliged to give them " new names, invent genealogies, and some different " attributes," pp. 221, 222.

He says, *We may suppose that the ancients were the best judges of the nature of their religion, and of their mythology.* But the *Ancients*, here spoken of, were not Egyptians, but Greeks; and the *Mythology* here spoken of was not Greek, but Egyptian: Therefore these *Ancients* might well be mistaken about the *nature of a Religion* which they borrowed from strangers; the principles of which, they tell us, were always kept secreted from them. But this is not all; they in fact were mistaken; and by no means *good judges of the nature of their Religion*, if we may believe one of the most authentic of these Ancients, HERODOTUS himself, where discoursing of the Greeks he expressly says,—" But the " origin of each God, and whether they are all from " eternity, and what is their several kinds or natures, " to speak the truth, they neither knew at that time nor " since *."

The learned Traveller goes on—*and* CONSEQUENTLY *that all interpretations of their Mythology by men of* FRUITFUL INVENTIONS, *that have no sort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and such as might never be intended by them.* This is indeed a TRUTH, but it is NO CONSEQUENCE, and therefore not to the purpose. For, whether the *Ancients* were, or were not,

* See above.

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the best judges; whether the *Moderns* have, or have not, *fruitful inventions*, yet if their *interpretations have no sort of foundation in ancient writings*, it is a great chance but they *are forced*; and as great, that the Ancients never intended what the Moderns ascribe to them. However, he gets nothing by this hypothetical proposition, unless it be the discredit of begging the question.

But the most extraordinary is his making it an additional reason for leaving the Moderns and sticking to the Ancients, that *the Ancients seem to have invented and grafted on true history*; *and, in order* (he says) *to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented, &c.* Now, if the Ancients were thus mistaken, the Moderns sure may be excused in endeavouring to set them right: To common sense, therefore, this would seem to shew the *use* of their interpretations. But this use is better understood from our Author's own success; who, in this chapter concerning the *Egyptian mythology*, has attempted to give us some knowledge of Antiquity, without them. And here we find the ancient account, to which he so closely adheres, is not only fabulous by his own confession, but contradictory by his own representation; a confused collection of errors and absurdities; that very condition of Antiquity which forced the *Moderns* to have recourse to *interpretations*; and occasioned that variety whereon our author grounds his charge against them. A charge, however, in which his *Ancients* themselves will be involved; for they likewise had their *interpretations*; and were (if their variety would give it them) as *fruitful* at least, in their *inventions*. For instance, How discordant were they in their opinions concerning the origin of ANIMAL WORSHIP! Was our Author ignorant that so odd a superstition wanted explanation? By no means. Yet for fear of incurring the censure of a *fruitful invention*, instead of taking the fair solution of a modern Critic, or even any rational interpretation of the ancient Mythologists, whom yet he professes to follow, he contents himself with that wretched fable "of Typhon's dividing the body of Osiris into twenty-six parts, and distributing them to his accomplices; which being afterwards

wards found by Isis, and delivered by her to distinct bodies of priests to be buried with great secrecy, she enjoined them to pay divine honours to him, and to consecrate some particular animal to his memory." *From this account* (says our author very gravely) *we may see the reason why so many sacred animals were worshipped in Egypt.* p. 226. Again, the Greek account, in Diodorus, of Osiris's expedition, has been shewn to be a heap of impossible absurdities; yet our author believes it all; and would have believed as much more, rather than have run the hazard of any *modern invention.*

AND now, we presume, the MINOR of Sir Isaac Newton's general argument, that *Osiris and Sesostris were the same*, is intirely overthrown. For, 1. It hath been proved, that the premisses, he employs in its support, do not infer it. 2. That the consequence of his conclusion from it, contradicts sacred Scripture; and 3. That it disagrees with the very nature of things.

So that our first proposition, *That the Egyptian learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian superstition there condemned, were the very Learning and Superstition represented by the Greek writers, as the honour and opprobrium of that people,* stands clear of all objection. What that *Learning* and *Superstition* were, we have shewn very largely; though occasionally, in the course of this inquiry; whereby it appears, that their *Learning* in general was consummate skill in CIVIL POLICY AND THE ARTS OF LEGISLATION; and their *Superstition,* the WORSHIP OF DEAD MEN DEIFIED.

SECT. VI.

I COME, at length, to my second proposition: which if, by this time, the Reader should have forgotten, he may be easily excused. It is this, *That the Jewish people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: and that many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses, were instituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions.*

The first part of this proposition—*the people's fondness*

ness for, and frequent lapse into, Egyptian superstitions,—needs not many words to evince. The thing, as we shall see hereafter, being so natural in itself; and, as we shall now see, so fully recorded in holy Scripture.

The time was now come for the deliverance of the chosen People from their Egyptian bondage: For now VICE and IDOLATRY were arrived at their height; the former (as St. Paul tells us) by means of the latter; for *as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness**, &c. The two most populous regions at that time in the world were CANAAN and EGYPT: The first distinguished from all other by its *violence and unnatural crimes*; the latter by its *superstitions and idolatries*. It concerned God's moral government that a speedy check should be put to both; the inhabitants of these two places being now ripe for divine vengeance. And as the Instruments he employed to punish their present enormities were designed for a barrier against future, the Israelites went out of Egypt with a *high hand*, which desolated their haughty tyrants; and were led into the possession of the land of Canaan, whose inhabitants they were utterly to exterminate. The dispensation of this Providence appears admirable, both in the time and in the modes of the punishment. VICE and IDOLATRY had now (as I said) filled up their measure. EGYPT, the capital of false Religion, being likewise the nursery of arts and sciences, was preserved from total destruction for the sake of civil life and polished manners, which were to derive their source from thence: But the CANAANITES were to be utterly exterminated, to vindicate the honour of humanity, and to put a stop to a spreading contagion which changed the reasonable Nature into brutal.

Now it was that GOD, remembering his Covenant with Abraham, was pleased to appoint his People, then groaning under their bondage, a Leader and Deliverer. But so great was their degeneracy, and so sensible was MOSES of its effects, in their ignorance of, or alienation from the true GOD, that he would willingly have declined

* Rom. i. 28.

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the office: And when absolutely commanded to undertake it, he desired however that GOD would let him know by what NAME he would be called, when the people should ask the *name* of the GOD of their fathers.—*And Moses said unto* GOD, *Behold when I come unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, The* GOD *of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say unto me,* WHAT IS HIS NAME? *what shall I say unto them*?* Here we see a people not only lost to all knowledge of the UNITY (for the asking for a *name* necessarily implied their opinion of a plurality), but likewise possessed with the very spirit of Egyptian idolatry. *The religion of* NAMES, as we have shewn†, was a matter of great consequence in Egypt. It was one of their essential superstitions; it was one of their native inventions: and the first of them which they communicated to the Greeks. Thus when Hagar, the handmaid of Sarai, who was an Egyptian woman, saw the angel of God in the wilderness, the text tells us ‡, *She called the name of the Lord that spake unto her*, ELROI, *the God of vision, or the visible God:* that is, according to the established custom of Egypt, she gave him a name of *honour:* not merely a name of *distinction*; for such, all nations had (who worshipped local tutelary deities) before their communication with Egypt ‖. But, after that (as appears from the place of Herodotus quoted above, concerning the Pelasgi), they decorated their Gods with distinguished Titles, indicative of their specific office and attributes. A NAME was so peculiar an adjunct to a local tutelary Deity, that we see by a passage quoted by Lanctantius from the spurious books of Trismegist (which however abounded with Egyptian notions and superstitions) that the one supreme God had no *name* or title of distinction ¶. Zachariah evidently alluding

* Exod. iii. 13. † Page 222, & seq. ‡ Gen. xvi. 13.

‖ See note [MMMM] at the end of this Book.

¶ Hic scripsit libros—in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, DEUM & PATREM. Ac ne quis NOMEN ejus requireret ANΩNYMON esse dixit; eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem. Ipsius hæc verba sunt, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἷς; ὁ δὲ εἷς ὀνόματος ἐ προσδεῖται; ἴσε γαρ ὁ ὢν ἀνώνυμος. Deo igitur nomen non est, quia solus est: nec opus

alluding to these notions, when he prophesies of the worship of the supreme God, unmixed with idolatry, says, *In that day shall there be one Lord, and* HIS NAME ONE*; that is, only bearing the simple title of LORD: and, as in the words of Lanctantius below, *ac ne quis* NOMEN *ejus requireret,* ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟΝ *esse dixit; eo quod nominis* PROPRIETATE *non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet* UNITATEM. Out of indulgence therefore to this weakness, GOD was pleased to give himself a NAME. *And God said unto Moses,* I AM THAT I AM: *And he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel,* I AM *hath sent me unto you* †. Where we may observe (according to the constant method of divine Wisdom, when it condescends to the prejudices of men) how, in the very instance of indulgence to their superstition, he gives a corrective of it.—The *Religion of names* arose from an idolatrous polytheism; and the NAME here given, implying *eternity* and *self-existence,* directly opposeth that superstition.

This compliance with the *Religion of names* was a new indulgence to the prejudices of this people; as is evident from the following words: *And* GOD *spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the* NAME OF GOD ALMIGHTY, *but by my* NAME JEHOVAH *was I not known to them* ‡. That is, as the GOD of Abraham, I before condescended to have *a Name of distinction:* but now, in compliance to another prejudice, I condescend to have *a Name of honour.* This seems to be the true interpretation of this very difficult text, about which the commentators are so much embarrassed. For the word *Jehovah,* whose name is here said to be unknown to the Patriarchs, frequently occurring in the book of Genesis, had furnished Unbelievers with a pretext that the same person could not be author of the two books of Genesis and Exodus. But Ignorance and Scepticism, which set Infidelity on work, generally bring it to shame. They mistook the true sense of the text. The

opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi cum discrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque personam aua nota et appellatione designes. Div. Inst. l. i. c. 6.

* Ch. xiv. 9. † Exod. iii. 14. ‡ Ib. vi. 3.

The assertion is not, that the WORD *Jehovah* was not used in the patriarchal language; but that the NAME *Jehovah*, as a title of honour, (whereby a new *idea* was affixed to an old *word*) was unknown to them. Thus, in a parallel instance, we say rightly, that the King's SUPREMACY was unknown to the English Constitution till the time of Henry VIII. though the word was in use, and even applied to the chief Magistrate, (indeed in a different and more simple sense) long before.

The common solution of this difficulty is as ridiculous as it is false. You shall have it in the words of a very ingenious Writer.—" The word JEHOVAH signifies the " being unchangeable in his resolutions, and conseqently " the being infinitely faithful in performing his promises. " In this sense, the word is employed in the passage of " Exodus now under examination. So that when God " says, *by my name Jehovah was I not known to them,* " this signifies—as one faithful to fulfil my promise, " was I not known to them. i. e. I had not then ful- " filled the promise which I had made to them, of " bringing their posterity out of Egypt, and giving " them the land of Canaan *." By which interpretation, the Almighty is made to tell the Israelites that he was not known to their forefathers as the God who had redeemed their posterity from Egypt, before they had any posterity to redeem. A marvellous revelation, and, without doubt, much wanted. To return.

MOSES, however, appears still unwilling to accept this Commission; and presumes to tell GOD, plainly, *Behold they will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.*

* —il signifie *l'etre immuable dans ses resolutions*, et par consequent *l'etre infiniment fidelle dans ses promesses*, et c'est dans cette acception que ce nom est emploié dans le passage de l'Exode, que nous examinons. Qu'ainsi quand Dieu dit, *Je ne leur ai point esté connu en mon nom de Jehovah*, cela signifie, *Je ne me suis point fait connoitre, comme fidelle à remplir mes promesses*, c'est-a-dire, JE N'AI PAS ENCORE REMPLI LA PROMESSE, *qui je leur avois faite, de retirer de l'Egypte leur posterité, et de lui donner la terre de Chanaan.* —M. Astruc, *Conjectures sur le livre de la Genese*, p. 305. He says very truly, that, in this solution, he had no other part to perform, *que suivre la foule des Commentateurs tant Chretiens que Juifs*, p. 301.

*thee**. But could this be said or thought by a People, who, groaning in the bitterest servitude, had a message from GOD, of a long promised deliverance, at the very time that, according to the prediction, the promise was to be fulfilled, if they had kept him and his dispensations in memory? When this objection is removed, Moses hath yet another; and that is, his inability for the office of an ORATOR. This too is answered. And when he is now driven from all his subterfuges, he with much passion declines the whole employment, and cries out, *O my* GOD, *send I pray thee by the hand of him whom thou wilt send*†. This justly provokes GOD's displeasure: and thereon, he finally complies. From all this backwardness, (and the cause of it could be no other than what is here assigned; for MOSES, as appears by the former part of his history‡, was forward and zealous enough to promote the welfare of his brethren) we must needs conclude, that he thought the recovery of this People from EGYPTIAN SUPERSTITIONS to be altogether desperate. And, humanly speaking, he did not judge amiss; as may be seen from a succinct account of their behaviour during the whole time GOD was working this amazing Deliverance.

For now Moses and Aaron discharge their message; and having confirmed it by signs and wonders, the *People believed:* but it was such a belief, as men have of a new and unexpected matter, well attested.—*They bow the head* too, *and worship*‖; but it appears to be a thing they had not been lately accustomed to. And how little true sense they had of GOD's promises and visitation is seen from their murmuring and desponding¶ when things did not immediately succeed to their wishes; though Moses, as from God, had told them beforehand, that Pharaoh would prove cruel and *hard-hearted;* and would defer their liberty to the very last distress**. And at length, when that time came, and GOD had ordered them to purify themselves from all the *idolatries* of EGYPT, so prodigiously attached were they to these follies, that they disobeyed his command even at the very eve of

* Exod. iv. 1.
† Chap. iv. 3.
‡ Chap. ii. 12.
‖ Chap. iv. 31.
¶ Chap. v. 21.
** Chap. iii. 19, 20, 21.

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their deliverance *. A thing altogether incredible, but that we have GOD's own word for it, by the prophet Ezekiel: *In the day* (says he) *that I lifted up mine hand unto them to bring them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land that I had spied for them flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands: Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man the abominations of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your* GOD. *But they rebelled against me, and would not hearken unto me: they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt; Then I said, I will pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt. But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen, amongst whom they were, in whose sight I made myself known unto them, in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt. Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness* †.

From all this it appears, that their *Cry, by reason of their bondage, which came up unto* GOD, was not for such a deliverance as was promised to their forefathers, to be *brought up out of Egypt*; but for such a one as might enable them to live at ease, amongst their *flesh-pots*, in it.

But now they are delivered: and, by a series of miracles performed in their behalf, got quite clear of the power of Pharaoh. Yet on every little distress, *Let us return to Egypt*, was still the cry. Thus, immediately after their deliverance at the Red-Sea, on so common an accident, as meeting with *bitter waters* in their route, they were presently at their *What shall we drink* ‡? And no sooner had a miracle removed this distress, and they gotten into the barren wilderness, but they were, again, at their *What shall we eat* ‖? Not that indeed they feared to die either of hunger or of thirst; for they found the hand of GOD was still ready to supply their wants; all but their capital want, to return again into

* See note [NNNN] at the end of this Book.

† Ezek. xx. 6. & seq. ‡ Exod. xv. 24. ‖ Ch. xvi. 2.

EGYPT; and these pretences were only a less indecent cover to their designs: which yet, on occasion, they were not ashamed to throw off, as where they say to Moses, when frightened by the pursuit of the Egyptians at the Red-Sea, *Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians* *. And again, *Would to* GOD, *we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots and did eat bread to the full* †. That is, in plain terms, "Would we had died with our "brethren the Egyptians." For they here allude to the *destruction* of the *first-born*, when the destroying angel (which was more than they deserved) passed over the habitations of Israel.

But they have now both flesh and bread, when they cry out the second time for water: and even while, again, at their *Why hast thou brought us up out of Egypt* ‡, a rock, less impenetrable than their hearts, is made to pour out a stream so large that *the waters run down like rivers* ‖: yet all the effect it seemed to have upon them was only to put them more in mind of *the way of Egypt, and the* WATERS *of Sihor* ¶.

Nay even after their receiving the LAW, on their free and solemn acceptance of *Jehovah* for their GOD and KING, and their being consecrated anew, as it were, for his peculiar People, Moses only happening to stay a little longer in the Mount than they expected, They fairly took the occasion of projecting a scheme, and, to say the truth, no bad one, of returning back into Egypt. They went to Aaron, and pretending they never hoped to see Moses again, desired another Leader. But they would have one in the mode of Egypt; an Image, or visible representative of GOD, *to go before them* **. Aaron complies, and makes them a GOLDEN CALF, in conformity to the superstition of Egypt; whose great God Osiris was worshipped under that representation ††; and, for greater holiness too, out of the jewels of the Egyptians. In this so horrid an impiety to the GOD of

* Exod. xiv. 12.
† Chap. xvi. 3.
‡ Chap. xvii. 3.
‖ Ps. lxxviii. 16.
¶ Jer. ii. 18.
** Exod. xxxii. 1.
†† Ὁ ΜΟΣΚΟΣ ἔτος, ὁ ΑΠΙΣ καλέομεν. Herodot. l. iii. 28.

their

their fathers, their secret drift *, if we may believe St. Stephen, was this; they wanted to get back into Egypt; and while the CALF, so much adored in that country, went before them, they could return with an atonement and reconciliation in their hands. And doubtless their worthy Mediator, being made all of sacred, Egyptian metal, would have been consecrated in one of their temples, under the title of OSIRIS REDVCTOR. But Moses's sudden appearance broke all their measures: and the ringleaders of the design were punished as they deserved.

At length, after numberless follies and perversities, they are brought, through GOD's patience and long-suffering, to the end of all their travels, to the promised place of rest, which is just opening to receive them; When, on the report of the cowardly explorers of the Land, they relapse again into their old delirium, *Wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt* †. This so provoked the Almighty, that he condemned that Generation to be worn away in the wilderness. How they spent their time there, the prophet Amos will inform us, *Have ye offered unto me* (says GOD) *any sacrifices and offerings in the Wilderness forty years, O house of Israel* ‡*?*

In a word, this unwillingness to leave Egypt, and this impatience to return thither, are convincing proofs of their fondness for its customs and superstitions. When I consider this, I seem more inclined than the generality even of sober Critics to excuse the false accounts of the Pagan writers concerning the Exodus; who concur in representing the Jews as expelled or forcibly driven out of Egypt; For so indeed they were. The mistake was only about their driver. The Pagans supposed him to be the King of Egypt; when indeed it was the GOD of Israel himself, by the ministry of Moses.

* —" To whom our fathers would not obey, but thrust him from " them, and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt, saying " unto Aaron, Make us Gods to go before us," &c. Acts vii. 39, 40.

† Numb. xiv. 3, 4. ‡ Am. v. 25.

Let us view them next, in possession of the PROMISED LAND. A land *flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands.* One would expect now their longing after Egypt should have entirely ceased. And so without doubt it would, had it arose only from the *flesh-pots*; but it had a deeper root; it was the spiritual luxury of Egypt, their *superstitions*, with which the Israelites were so debauched. And therefore no wonder they should still continue slaves to their appetite. Thus the prophet Ezekiel, *Neither* LEFT *she her whoredoms brought from Egypt* *. So that after all GOD's mercies conferred upon them in putting them in possession of the land of Canaan, Joshua is, at last, forced to leave them with this fruitless admonition: *Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and* PUT AWAY *the Gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood and in* EGYPT †. It is true, we are told that *the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord that he did for Israel* ‡. But, out of sight out of mind. It is then added—*And there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel—And they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the people that were round about them* ‖. And in this state they continued throughout the whole administration of their JUDGES; except, when, from time to time, they were awakened into repentance by the severity of GOD's judgments; which yet were no sooner passed, than they fell back again into their old lethargy, a forgetfulness of his mercies.

Nor did their fondness for Egypt at all abate when they came under the iron rod of their KINGS; the Magistrate they had so rebelliously demanded; and who, as they pretended, was to set all things right. On the contrary, this folly grew still more inflamed; and instead of one CALF they would have two. Which Ezekiel hints at, where he says, *Yet she* MULTIPLIED

* Ezek. xxiii. 8. † Josh. xxiv. 14.
‡ Judges ii. 7. ‖ Ib. ii. 10—12.

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her whoredoms in calling to remembrance the days of her youth wherein she had played the harlot in Egypt *. And so favourite a superstition were the CALVES of Dan and Beth-el, that they still kept their ground against all those general Reformations which divers of their better sort of Kings had made, to purge the land of Israel from idolatries. It is true, their extreme fondness for Egyptian superstition was not the only cause of this inveterate adherence to their CALVES. There were two others:

They flattered themselves that this specific idolatry was not altogether so gross an affront to the GOD of their fathers, as many of the rest. Other of their idolatries consisted in worshipping Strange Gods in conjunction with the GOD of Israel; this of the CALVES, only in worshipping the GOD of Israel in an idolatrous manner: as appears from the history of their erection. *And Jeroboam* † *said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the King took counsel, and made two* CALVES *of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan* ‡.—*It is too much for you* (says he) *to go up to Jerusalem.* Who were the men disposed *to go up?* None surely but the worshippers of the GOD of Israel. Consequently the CALVES, here offered to save them a journey, must needs be given as the representatives of that God. And if these were so, then certainly the CALF *in Horeb*: since, at their several consecrations, the very same proclamation was made of all three: *Behold thy* GODS, *O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.*

The other cause of the perpetual adherence of the Kingdom of Israel to their GOLDEN CALVES was their

* Ezek. xxiii. 19.

† It is to be observed of this Jeroboam, that he had sojourned in Egypt, as a refugee, during the latter part of the reign of Solomon: 1 Kings xi. 40.

‡ 1 Kings xii. 26. & *seq.*

being erected for a prevention of reunion with the Kingdom of Judah. *If this people* (says the politic contriver) *go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah.* The succeeding kings, therefore, we may be sure, were as careful in preserving them, as He was in putting them up. So that, good or bad, the character common to them all was, that *he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin*; namely, in worshipping the Calves in Dan and Beth-el. And those of them who appeared most zealous for the Law of GOD, and utterly exterminated the idolatry of Baal, yet connived at least, at this political worship of the CALVES.—*Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel. Howbeit from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat who made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not, to wit, the golden* CALVES *that were in Beth-el, and that were in Dan**.

But the Israelites had now contracted all the fashionable habits of Egypt. We are assured that it had been long peculiar to the Egyptian superstition for every city of that empire to have its own tutelary God, besides those which were worshipped in common: But now Jeremiah tells us the people of Judah bore a part with them in this extravagance: *Where are thy Gods that thou hast made thee? Let them arise, if they can save thee in the time of thy trouble:* FOR ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THY CITIES, ARE THY GODS, O JUDAH †.

And by the time that the sins of this wretched People were ripe for the punishment of their approaching Captivity, they had polluted themselves with all kind of *Egyptian abominations:* as appears from the famous VISIONS of EZEKIEL, where their three capital idolatries are so graphically described. The prophet represents himself as brought, in a vision, to Jerusalem: and, at *the door of the inner gate that looked towards the north*, he saw *the seat of the* IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealousy* ‡. Here, by the noblest stretch of an inspired imagination, he calls this *seat* of their idolatries, the *seat of the Image of Jealousy*, whom

* 2 Kings x. 28, & seq. † Ch. ii. 28. ‡ Ezek. viii. 3.

he

he personifies, and the more to catch the attention of this corrupt people, converts into an *Idol*, THE IMAGE OF JEALOUSY *which provoketh to jealousy*; as if he had said, God, in his wrath, hath given you one idol more, to avenge himself of all the rest. After this sublime prelude, the prophet proceeds to the various scenery of the inspired Vision.

I. The first of their capital idolatries is described in this manner: *And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold, a* HOLE IN THE WALL. *Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold, a* DOOR. *And he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here. So I went in, and saw; and behold,* EVERY FORM OF CREEPING THINGS, AND ABOMINABLE BEASTS, *and all the idols of the house of Israel,* POURTRAYED UPON THE WALL ROUND ABOUT. *And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do* IN THE DARK, *every man in the* CHAMBERS OF HIS IMAGERY *?

1. The first inference I draw from these words is, That the Superstition here described was EGYPTIAN This appears from its object's being the Gods peculia to Egypt, *every form of creeping things and abominable beasts*; which, in another place, the same prophet calls, with great propriety and elegance, the *abominations of the eyes* of the Israelites †.

2. The second inference is, That they contain a very lively and circumstantial description of the so celebrated MYSTERIES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS. For, 1. The rites are represented as performed in a secret subterraneous place. *And when I looked, behold, a* HOLE *in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold, a* DOOR. *And*

* Ezek. viii. 7, & seq.

† Chap. xx. 7, 8. This shews *brute-worship* in *Egypt* to have been vastly extensive at the *Exodus*; the time the prophet is here speaking of.

he said unto me, Go in—Hast thou seen what the Ancients of the house of Israel do in the DARK? This secret place was, as the Prophet tells us, in the Temple. And such kind of places, for this use, the Egyptians had in their Temples, as we learn from a similitude of Plutarch's. *Like the disposition* (says he) *and ordonance of their Temples; which, in one place, enlarge and extend themselves into long wings, and fair and open aisles; in another, sink into dark and secret subterranean Vestries, like the Adyta of the Thebans* *: which Tacitus describes in these words—" atque alibi angustiæ, et profunda altitudo, nullis inquirentium spaciis penetrabilis †." 2. These rites are celebrated by the SANHEDRIM, or the elders of *Israel: And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel.* Now it hath been shewn in the Account of the MYSTERIES, that none but princes, rulers, and the wisest of the people, were admitted to their more secret celebrations. 3. The paintings and imagery, on the walls of this subterraneous apartment, answer exactly to the descriptions the ancients have given us of the mystic cells of the Egyptians ‡. *Behold every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* So Ammianus Marcellinus —" Sunt et syringes subterranei quidam et flexuosi se-" cessus, quos, ut fertur, periti, rituum vetustorum—" penitus operosis digestos fodinis, per loca diversa " struxerunt: *et excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque* " *genera multa sculpserunt, quas hieroglyphicas literas* " *appellarunt* ‖." There is a famous antique monument, once a consecrated utensil in the rites of Isis and Osiris, and now well known to the curious by the name of the ISIAC or BEMBINE TABLE; on which (as appears by

* Ὡς—ἅ τι τῶν Ναῶν διαθέσεις, αἱ μὲν ἀνειμένων εἰς πλεῖρὰ καὶ δρόμους ὑπαιθρίους καὶ καθαρᾶς, αἱ δὲ κρυπτὰ καὶ σκότια καὶ γῆς χόνλων τολυτήρια θηβαίοις ἐοικότα καὶ σηκοῖς.—Περὶ Ισ. καὶ Οσ' p. 632. Steph. ed.

† Ann. xi. c. 62.

‡ Thus described by a learned Antiquary, Adyta Ægyptiorum, in quibus sacerdotes sacra operari, ritusque et cæremonias suas exercere solebant, *subterranea loca erant*, singulari quodam artificio ita constructa, ut nihil non mysteriosi in iis occurreret. *Muri ex omni parte pleni tum hieroglyphicis picturis, tum sculpturis*—Kircher.

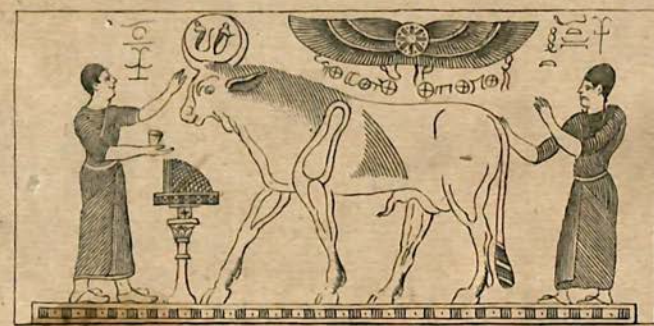
‖ Lib. xxii. c. 15.

the

facing p.297. V. IV.

From the Bembine Table.

PLATE X.



J. Mynde sc.

the order of the several compartments) is pourtrayed all the imagery that adorned the walls of the *Mystic Cell.* Now if one were to describe the engravings on that table, one could not find juster or more emphatic terms than those which the Prophet here employs.

3. The third inference I would draw from this vision is, that the Egyptian superstition was that to which the Israelites were more particularly addicted. And thus much I gather from the following words, *Behold, every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and* ALL THE IDOLS OF THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL, *pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* I have shewn this to be a description of an Egyptian mystic cell: which certainly was adorned only with Egyptian Gods: and yet those Gods are here called, by way of distinction, *all the idols of the house of Israel:* which seems plainly to infer this People's more particular addiction to them. But the words, *house of Israel,* being used in a vision describing the idolatries of the *house of Judah,* I take it for granted, that in this indefinite number of *All the idols of the house of Israel,* were eminently included those two prime idols of the *house of Israel,* the calves of Dan and Beth-el. And the rather, for that I find the original Calves held a distinguished station in the paintings of the Mystic Cell; as the reader may see by casting his eye upon the Bembine Table. And this, by the way, will lead us to the reason of Jeroboam's erecting two Calves. For they were, we see, worshipped in pairs by the Egyptians, as representing Isis and Osiris. And what is remarkable, the Calves were *male* and *female,* as appears from 2 Kings, ch. x. ver. 29. compared with Hosea, ch. x. ver. 5. where in one place the masculine, and in the other the feminine term is employed. But though the Egyptian Gods are thus, by way of eminence, called the *idols of the house of Israel,* yet other idols they had besides Egyptian; and of those good store, as we shall now see.

For this prophetic vision is employed in describing the three master-superstitions of this unhappy people, the EGYPTIAN, the PHENICIAN, and the PERSIAN.

II. The Egyptian we have seen. The PHENICIAN follows in these words: *He said also unto me, Turn thee*

thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the NORTH, *and behold, there sat* WOMEN WEEPING FOR TAMMUZ*.

III. The PERSIAN superstition is next described in this manner: *Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and* THEIR FACES TOWARDS THE EAST; AND THEY WORSHIPPED THE SUN TOWARDS THE EAST†.

1. It is to be observed, that when the Prophet is bid to turn from the Egyptian to the Phenician rites, he is then said to look towards the *north*; which was the situation of Phenicia with regard to Jerusalem; consequently, he before stood *southward*, the situation of Egypt, with regard to the same place. And when, from thence, he is bid to turn into the inner court of the Lord's house, to see the Persian rites, this was *east*, the situation of Persia. With such exactness is the representation of the whole Vision conducted.

2. Again, as the mysterious rites of Egypt are said, agreeably to their usage, to be held in secret, by their ELDERS AND RULERS only: so the Phenician rites, for the same reason, are shewn as they were celebrated by the PEOPLE, in open day. And the Persian worship of the sun, which was performed by the Magi, is here said to be observed by the PRIESTS alone, *five and twenty men with their faces towards the east.*

These three capital Superstitions, the Prophet, again, distinctly objects to them, in a following chapter. *Thou hast also committed fornication with the* EGYPTIANS *thy neighbours, great of flesh*‡; *and hast increased thy whoredoms to provoke me to anger. Thou hast played the whore also with the* ASSYRIANS, *because thou wast unsatiable: yea thou hast played the harlot with them, and yet couldst not be satisfied. Thou hast more-*

* Ezek. viii. 13, & seq. † Ib. 15, & seq.

‡ See note [OOOO] at the end of this Book.

over

over multiplied thy fornication in the land of CANAAN *unto Chaldea, and yet thou wast not satisfied herewith**.

And when that miserable Remnant, who, on the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, had escaped the fate of their enslaved countrymen, were promised safety and security, if they would stay in Judea; they said, *No, but we will go into the land of* EGYPT, *where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell*†.

Thus we see what a surprising fondness this infatuated people had for Egypt, and how entirely they were seized and possessed with its superstitions. Which the more I consider, the more I am confirmed in the truth of Scripture-history (so opposite to Sir Isaac Newton's Egyptian Chronology), that Egypt was, at the egression of the Israelites, a great and powerful empire. For nothing so much attaches a people to any particular Constitution, or mode of Government, as the high opinion of its power, wealth, and felicity; these being ever supposed the joint product of its RELIGION and CIVIL POLICY.

II. Having thus proved the first part of the Proposition, *That the* Jewish *people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions*, I come now to the second; *That many of the Laws given to them by the ministry of* Moses *were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those and to the like superstitions.* But to set what I have to say in support of this second part of the Proposition in a fair light, it may be proper just to state and explain the ENDS of the Ritual Law. Its first and principal, was to guard the chosen people from the contagion of IDOLATRY: a second, and very important end, was to prepare them for the reception of the MESSIAH. The first required that the Ritual Law should be OBJECTIVE to the Pagan superstitions; and the second, that it should be TYPICAL of their great Deliverer. Now the coincidencies of these two ends, not being sufficiently adverted to, hath been the principal occasion of that obstinate aversion to the truth here advanced, *That much of the Ritual was given,* PARTLY

* Ezek. xvi. 26, & seq. † Jerem. xlii. 14.

in

in compliance to the People's prejudices, and PARTLY *in opposition to Egyptian superstitions:* These men thinking the falsehood of the Proposition sufficiently proved in shewing the Ritual to be *typical*; as if the one end excluded the other: whereas we see they were very consistent; and hereafter shall see, that their concurrency affords one of the noblest proofs of the divinity of its original.

And now, to go on with our subject: The intelligent reader cannot but perceive, that the giving a RITUAL in opposition to Egyptian superstition, was a necessary consequence of the People's propensity towards it. For a people so prejudiced, and who were to be dealt with as free and accountable Agents, could not possibly be kept separate from other nations, and pure from foreign idolatries, any otherwise than by giving them laws IN OPPOSITION to those superstitions. But such being the corrupt state of man's Will as ever to revolt against what directly opposeth its prejudices, wise Governors, when under the necessity of giving such Laws, have, in order to break and evade the force of human perversity, always intermixed them with others which eluded the perversity, by flattering the prejudice; where the indulgence could not be so abused as to occasion the evil which the *laws of opposition* were designed to prevent*. And in this manner it was that our inspired Lawgiver acted with his people, if we will believe JESUS himself, where, speaking of a certain positive institution, he says, *Moses for the* HARDNESS OF YOUR HEARTS *wrote you this precept* †. Plainly intimating their manners to be such, that, had not Moses indulged them in some things, they would have revolted against all‡. It follows therefore, that Moses's giving Laws to the Israelites, *in compliance* to these their prejudices, was a natural and necessary consequence of Laws given *in opposition* to them. Thus far from the nature of the thing.

* See this reasoning inforced, and explained more at large in the proof of the next proposition.

† Mark x. 5. and Matt. xix. 8.

‡ This is still farther seen from God's being pleased to be considered by them as a *local tutelary Deity:* which, when we come to that point, we shall shew was the prevailing superstition of those times.

Matter

Matter of fact confirms this reasoning. We find in the Law a surprising relation and resemblance between Jewish and Egyptian rites, in circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*. But the learned SPENCER hath fully exhausted this subject, in his excellent work, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus & earum rationibus*; and thereby done great service to divine revelation: For the RITUAL LAW, when thus explained, is seen to be an Institution of the most beautiful and sublime contrivance. Which, without its CAUSES (no where to be found but in the road of this theory) must lie for ever open to the scorn and contempt of Libertines and Unbelievers. This noble work is no other than a paraphrase and comment on the third part of a famous treatise called *More Nevochim*, of the Rabbi MOSES MAIMONIDES: of whom only to say (as is his common Encomium) that *he was the first of the Rabbins who left off trifling*, is a poor and invidious commendation. Thither I refer the impartial reader; relying on his justice to believe that I mean to charge myself with no more of Spencer's opinions than what directly tend to the proof of this part of my Proposition, by shewing, That there is a great and surprising relation and resemblance between the Jewish and Egyptian rites, in circumstances both *opposite* and *similar*.

I ask nothing unreasonable of the reader, when I desire him to admit of this as proved; since the learned HERMAN WITSIUS, in a book professedly written to confute the hypothesis of Maimonides and Spencer, confesses the fact in the fullest and amplest manner *.

* *Ita autem commodissime me processurum existimo, si* primo *longa exemplorum inductione ex doctissimorum virorum mente, et eorum ipsorumque verbis, demonstravero,* MAGNAM ATQUE MIRANDAM PLANE CONVENIENTIAM IN RELIGIONIS NEGOTIO VETERES INTER ÆGYPTIOS ATQUE HEBRÆOS ESSE. *Quæ cum* fortuita *esse non possit, necesse est ut vel* Ægyptii *sua ab* Hebræis, *vel ex adverso* Hebræi *sua ab* Ægyptiis *abeant.* And again, *Porro, si, levato antiquitatis obscurioris velo, gentium omnium ritus oculis vigilantibus intucamur,* Ægyptios & Hebræos, PRÆ OMNIBUS ALIIS *moribus* SIMILLIMOS *fuisse comperiemus. Neque hoc* Kircherum *fefellit, cujus hæc sunt verba:* Hebræi tantam habent ad ritus, sacrificia, cærimonias, sacras disciplinas Ægyptiorum affinitatem, ut vel *Ægyptios hebraizantes*, vel *Hebræos ægyptizantes* fuisse, plane mihi persuadeam.—*Sed quid verbis opus est? in rem præsentem veniamus,* [Ægyptiaca, p. 4.] And so he goes on to transcribe, from Spencer and Marsham, all the eminent particulars of that resemblance.

What

What is it then (a stranger to Controversy would be apt to inquire) which this learned man addresses himself, in a large quarto volume, to confute? It is the plain and natural consequence of this resemblance, namely, That *the Jewish Ritual was given partly in compliance to the People's prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions*; the Proposition we undertake to prove. Witsius thinks, or is rather willing to think, that the Egyptian Ritual was invented in imitation of the Jewish. For the reader sees, that both sides are agreed in this, *That either the Jews borrowed from the Egyptians, or the Egyptians from the Jews*; so strong is the resemblance which forces this confession from them.

Now the only plausible support of Witsius's party being a thing taken for granted, viz. that the rites and customs of the Egyptians, as delivered by the Greeks, were of much later original than these writers assign to them; and my discourse on the ANTIQUITIES OF EGYPT, in the preceding section, proving it to be entirely groundless; the latter part of the proposition, *viz. That many of the laws given to the Jews, by the ministry of Moses, were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions*, is sufficiently proved.

But to let nothing that hath the appearance of an argument remain unanswered, I shall, in as few words as may be, examine this opinion, That *the Egyptians borrowed from the Israelites*; regarding both Nations in that very light in which holy Scripture hath placed them. The periods then in which this must needs be supposed to have happened, are one or other of these: 1. The time of Abraham's residence in Egypt; 2. of Joseph's government; 3. of the slavery of his, and his brethren's descendants; or, 4. Any indefinite time after their egression from Egypt.

Now not to insist on the utter improbability of a potent nation's borrowing its religious Rites from a private Family, or from a People they held in slavery; I answer, that of these four periods, the three first are beside the question. For the *characteristic* resemblance insisted on, is that which we find between the Egyptian ritual, and what is properly called MOSAICAL. And let it not be

be said, that we are unable to distinguish the Rites which were purely LEGAL from such as were PATRIARCHAL *: for Moses, to add the greater force and efficacy to the whole of his Institution, hath been careful to record each specific Rite which was properly Patriarchal.

Thus, though Moses enjoined CIRCUMCISION, he hath been careful to record the patriarchal institution of it with all its circumstances—*Moses gave unto you circumcision (not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers)* says JESUS †. So again, where he institutes the Jewish sabbath of rest, he records the patriarchal observance of it, in these words:—*In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, &c. and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it* ‡.

The last period then only remains to be considered, namely, from the Egression. Now at that time and from thenceforward, we say, the Egyptians would not borrow of the Israelites, for these two plain and convincing reasons, 1. They held the Israelites in the greatest contempt, and abhorrence, as SHEPHERDS, SLAVES, and ENEMIES, men who had brought a total devastation on their Country: and had embraced a Religion whose Ritual daily treated the Gods of Ægypt with the utmost ignominy and despite ‖. But people never borrow their religious Rites from those towards whom they stand in such inveterate distance. 2. It was part of the Religion of the old Egyptians to borrow from none ¶: most certainly, not from the Jews. This is the account we have, of their natural disposition, from those Ancients who have treated of their manners. While, on the other hand, we are assured from infallible authority that the Israelites, of the time of Moses, were in the very extreme of a contrary humour, and were for BORROWING

* See note [PPPP] at the end of this Book.

† 1 John vii. 22. See note [QQQQ] at the end of this Book.

‡ Exod. xx. 11. And see note [RRRR] at the end of this Book.

‖ See Spencer, De Leg. Heb. Rit. vol. i. p. 296.

¶ *Ægyptii detestari videntur quicquid οἱ γονῆς ὁ παρέδειξαν, parentes non commonstrarunt*, Witsii *Ægyptiaca*, p. 6.—Παλαίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον ἐθέλοντα ἐπιτηδεύειν. Herodot. l. ii, c. 78.—Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ΑΛΛΩΝ ΜΗΔΑΜΑ ΜΗΔΑΜΩΝ ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι ἔτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι. c. 91.

BORROWING all they could lay their hands on. This is so notorious, that I was surprised to find the learned Witsius attempt to prove, that the *Egyptians were greatly inclined to borrowing* *: but much more surprised with his arguments; which are these. 1. Clemens Alex. says, that it was the custom of the Barbarians, and particularly the Egyptians, to honour their legislators and benefactors as Gods. 2. Diodorus Siculus confirms this account, where he says, that the Egyptians were the most grateful of all mankind to their benefactors. And 3. The same historian tells us, that when Egypt was become a province to Persia, the Egyptians deified Darius, while yet alive; which honour they never had done to any other king †.—This is the whole of his evidence to prove the Egyptian genius so greatly inclined to foreign Rites. Nor should I have exposed the nakedness of this learned and honest man, either in this place or in any other, but for the use which hath been made of his authority; of which more hereafter. But Witsius, and those in his way of thinking, when they talk of the Egyptians' borrowing Hebrew rites, seem to have entertained a wrong idea of that highly policied People. It was not in ancient Egypt, as in ancient Greece, where every

* His words are these: *Magna quidem laterum contentione reclamat Doctissimus* Spencerus, *prorsusque incredibile esse contendit, consideratio gentis utriusque genio, ut ab* Hebræis Ægyptii *in suam tam multa religionem adsciverint. At quod ipsi incredibile videtur, id mihi post alios eruditione atque judicio clarissimos, perquam probabile est:* IPSO ÆGYPTIORUM ID SUADENTE GENIO. *In eo quippe præstantissimi Auctores consentiunt, solitos fuisse Ægyptios maximâ eos existimatione prosequi, quos sapientia atque virtute excellentiores cernerent, & a quibus se ingentibus beneficiis affectos esse meminerant: adeo quidem ut ejusmodi mortales, non defunctos solum, sed & superstites, pro Diis haberent.* Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 262.

† Clemens Alexandrinus clarum esse dicit, *Barbaros eximie semper honorasse suos legumlatores & præceptores Deos ipsos appellantes.*—Inter Barbaros autem maxime id præstiterunt Ægyptii. *Quin etiam genus Ægyptium diligentissime illos in Deos retulit.* Assentitur Diodorus: *Ægyptios denique supra cæteros Mortales quicquid bene de ipsis meretur grata mente prosequi affirmant.*—Neque popularibus modo suis atque indigenis—sed Peregrinis—Facit huc Darii Persarum regis exemplum, quod Diodori iterum verbis exponam. *Tandem Darius legibus Ægyptiorum animum appulisse dicitur—Nam cum Sacerdotibus Ægypti familiaritatem iniit, &c.—Propterea tantum honoris consecutus est, ut superstes adhuc Dixi appellationem quod nulli regum aliorum contigit promerucrit.* Lib. iii. c. 12. p. 263.

every private man, who had travelled for it, found himself at liberty to set up what *lying vanity* he pleased. For in that wary Monarchy, Religion was in the hand of the magistrate, and under the inspection of the Public: so that no *private* novelties could be introduced, had the people been as much disposed, as they were indeed averse, to innovations; and that any *public* ones would be made, by rites borrowed from the Hebrews, is, as we have shewn above, highly improbable.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to discredit this proposition, *(that the Egyptians borrowed of the Israelites)* from the nature of the thing. I shall now shew the falsehood of it, from the infallible testimony of GOD himself: who, upbraiding the Israelites with their borrowing idolatrous Rites of all their neighbours, expresses himself in this manner, by the prophet Ezekiel: *The contrary is in thee from other Women,* WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou givest a reward, and no reward is given to thee, therefore thou art contrary* *. The intelligent reader perceives that the plain meaning of the metaphor is this, *Ye Jews are contrary to all other nations: you are fond of borrowing their Rites, while none of them care to borrow yours.* But this remarkable fact, had it not been so expressly delivered, might easily have been collected from the whole course of sacred history. The reason will be accounted for hereafter. At present I shall only need to observe, that by the words, *Whereas none followeth thee to commit whoredoms,* is not meant, that no particular Gentile ever embraced the Jewish religion; but, that no Gentile people took in any of its Rites into their own national Worship. That this is the true sense of the passage appears from hence, 1. The idolatry of the COMMUNITY of Israel is here spoken of: and this, as will be shewn in the next book, did not consist in renouncing the Religion of Moses, but in polluting it with idolatrous mixtures. 2. The embracing the Jewish religion, and renouncing idolatry, could not, in figurative propriety, be called *committing whoredom,* though polluting the Jewish Rites, by taking them into their own superstitions, gives elegance to the figure thus applied.

* Ezek. xvi. 34.

The Reader, perhaps, may wonder how men can stand out against such kind of evidence. It is not, I will assure him, from the abundance of argument on the other side; or from their not seeing the force on this; but from a pious, and therefore very excusable, apprehension of danger to the Divinity of the Law, if it should be once granted that any of the Ceremonial part was given *in compliance to the people's prejudices.* Of which imaginary danger lord Bolingbroke hath availed himself, to calumniate the Law, for a COMPLIANCE too evident to be denied.

The apprehension therefore of this consequence being that which makes Believers so unwilling to own, and Deists, against the very genius of their infidelity, so ready to embrace an evident truth; I seem to come in opportunely to set both parties right: while I shew, in support of my THIRD PROPOSITION, that the consequence is groundless; and that the fears and hopes, built upon this supposed *compliance,* are vain and fantastic. which, I venture to predict, will ever be the issue of such fears and hopes as arise only from the Religionist's honest adherence to *common sense* and to the *word of God.*

II.

Our THIRD PROPOSITION is, That *Moses's Egyptian learning, and the Laws he instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of his mission.*

The first part of the Proposition concerns Moses's *Egyptian wisdom.* Let us previously consider what that was. MOSES (says the holy martyr Stephen) was LEARNED IN ALL THE WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS, *and mighty in words and deeds* *. Now where the WISDOM of a Nation is spoken of, that which is characteristic of the Nation must needs be meant: where the *wisdom* of a particular man, that which is peculiar to his quality and profession. St. Stephen, in this place, speaks of both. In both, therefore, he must needs mean CIVIL or POLITICAL wisdom; because, for that (as we have shewn) the Egyptian nation was principally distinguished: and in that consisted the eminence of cha-

* Acts vii. 22.

racter

racter of one who had a royal adoption, was bred up at court, and became at length the Leader and Lawgiver of a numerous People. More than this,—St. Stephen is here speaking of him under this public character, and therefore he must be necessarily understood to mean, That *Moses was consummate in the science of Legislation.* The words indeed are, ALL *the learning of the Egyptians.* But every good logician knows, that where the thing spoken of refers to some particular use (as here, Moses's LEARNING, to his CONDUCTING the Israelites out of Egypt) the particle ALL does not mean *all of every kind,* but *all the parts of one kind.* In this restrained sense, it is frequently used in the sacred Writings. Thus in the Gospel of St. John, JESUS says, *When he the Spirit of truth is come he will guide you into* ALL *truth**. But further, the concluding part of the character,—*and mighty in* WORDS *and* DEEDS, will not easily suffer the foregoing part to admit of any other interpretation; ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν ΛΟΓΟΙΣ καὶ ἐν ΕΡΓΟΙΣ. This was the precise character of the ANCIENT CHIEF: who, leading a free and willing People, needed the arts of peace, such as PERSUASION and LAW-MAKING, the ΛΟΓΟΙ; and the arts of war, such as CONDUCT and COURAGE, the ΕΡΓΑ in the text. Hence it is, that Jesus, who was *The Prophet like unto Moses,* the Legislator of the *new* covenant as the other was of the *old,* and the Conductor of our spiritual warfare, is characterized in the same words, δυνατὸς ἐν ΕΡΓΩι καὶ ΛΟΓΩι ἐναντίον τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ †.—*A prophet, mighty in* DEED *and* WORD, *before* GOD *and all the* PEOPLE. This *wisdom,* therefore, in which Moses was said to be versed, we conclude, was the τὸ πραγματικὸν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, in contradistinction to the τὸ θεωρητικόν. Hence may be seen the impertinence of those long inquiries, which, on occasion of these words, men have run into, concerning the state of the speculative and mechanic arts of Egypt, at this period.

This being the WISDOM, for which Moses is here celebrated, the Deist hastily concluded, *that therefore the establishment of the Jewish Policy was the sole contrivance of Moses himself;* He did not reflect, that a

* John xvi. 13. † Luke xxiv. 19.

fundamental truth (which he will not venture to dispute any more than the Believer) stands very much in the way of his conclusion; namely, *That* GOD, *in the moral government of the world, never does that in an extraordinary way, which can be equally well effected in an ordinary.*

In the separation of the Israelites, a civil Policy and a national Religion were to be established, and incorporated with one another, by God himself. For that end, he appointed an under-agent, or instrument; who, in this work of Legislation, was either to understand the government of a People, and so, be capable of comprehending the general plan delivered to him by GOD, for the erection of this extraordinary Policy: or else he was not to understand the government of a People, and so, God himself, in the execution of his plan, was, at every step, to interfere, and direct the ignorance and inability of his Agent. Now, as this perpetual interposition might be spared by the choice of an able Leader, we conclude, on the maxim laid down, that GOD would certainly employ such an one in the execution of his purpose.

There was yet another, and that no slight expediency, in such a Leader. The Israelites were a stubborn People, now first forming into Civil government; greatly licentious; and the more so, for their just coming out of a state of slavery. Had Moses therefore been so unequal to his designation, as to need GOD's direction at every turn to set him right, he would soon have lost the authority requisite for keeping an unruly multitude in awe; and have sunk into such contempt amongst them, as must have retarded their designed establishment.

But it will be said, "If there wanted so able a Chief at the first setting up of a THEOCRACY, there would still be the same want, though not in an equal degree, during the whole continuance of that divine form of government." It is likely there would, because I find, GOD did make a proper provision for it; first in the erection of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: and afterwards, in the establishment of the GREAT SANHEDRIM, which succeeded them. But sacred history mentioning these

these *Schools of the prophets*, and the assembly of the *Seventy elders*, only occasionally, the accounts we have of both are very short and imperfect. Which is the reason why interpreters, who have not well weighed the causes of that occasional mention, have suffered themselves to be greatly misled by the Rabbins.

I. The most particular account we have of the *Schools of the prophets* is in the first book of Samuel, and on this occasion: David, in his escape from the rage of Saul, fled to his protector, Samuel, who then presided over a *School of the prophets*, at Naioth in Ramah*. When this was told to Saul, he sent messengers in pursuit of him †. And, on the ill success of their errand, went afterwards himself ‡. But as it was the intent of the historian, in this mention of the *Schools of the Prophets*, only to acquaint us with the effect they had on Saul and his messengers, when the spirit of GOD came upon them, we have only a partial view of these Collegiate bodies, that is, a view of them while at their DEVOTIONS only, and not at their STUDIES. For Saul and his messengers coming when the Society was *prophesying* ‖, or at divine worship, the spirit of GOD fell upon them, and they *prophesied* also. And thus the *Chal. Par.* understands *prophesying*, as did the apostolic writers, who use the word in the same sense, of adoring God, and singing praises unto him. For we may well suppose these Societies began and ended all their daily studies with this holy exercise.

But from hence, writers of contrary parties have fallen into the same strange and absurd opinion; while they imagined that, because these *Schools* were indeed nurseries of the Prophets, that therefore they were places of instruction for I don't know what kind of ART OF PROPHESY. Spinoza borrowed this senseless fancy from the Rabbins, and hath delivered it down to his followers ¶; from whence they conclude that PROPHESY was amongst the mechanic arts of the Hebrews. But an inquirer of either common sense or common honesty would have seen it was a College for the study of the

* 1 Sam. xix. 18. † Ver. 21.
‡ Ver. 23. ‖ Ver. 20.
¶ See note [SSSS] at the end of this Book.

Jewish Law only; and, as such, naturally and properly, a seminary of *Prophets*. For those who were most knowing as well as zealous in the Law, were surely the most fit to convey GOD's commands to his People.

This account of the nature of the *Schools of the prophets* helps to shew us how it became a proverb in Israel, IS SAUL ALSO AMONGST THE PROPHETS*? which, I apprehend, has been commonly mistaken. The proverb was used to express a thing unlooked for and unlikely. But surely the *spirit of God* falling occasionally on their supreme Magistrate, at a time when it was so plentifully bestowed on private men, could be no such unexpected matter to the people; who knew too, that even Idolaters and Gentiles had partaken of it, while concerned in matters which related to their Economy. But more than this, They could not be ignorant that the *spirit of God* had usually made its abode with Saul; as appears from the following words of the sacred historian, *But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him*†. From all this I conclude that the people's surprise, which occasioned this proverb, was not because they heard the *spirit of God* had fallen upon him: but a very different reason, which I shall now endeavour to explain.

SAUL, with many great qualities, both of a public man and a private, and in no respect an unable Chief, was yet so poorly prejudiced in favour of the human Policies of the neighbouring Nations, as to become impiously cold and negligent in the support and advancement of the LAW OF GOD; though raised to regal power from a low and obscure condition, for this very purpose. He was, in a word, a mere Politician, without the least zeal or love for the divine Constitution of his Country. This was his great, and no wonder it should prove his unpardonable crime. For his folly had reduced things to that extremity, that either He must fall, or the Law. Now, this Pagan turn of mind was no secret to the People. When, therefore, they were told that he had sent frequent messengers to the supreme School of the prophets, where zeal for the Law was so

* 1 Sam. xix. 24.

† Ch. xvi. 14.—And see note [TTTT] at the end of this Book.

eminently

eminently professed; and had afterwards gone himself thither, and entered with divine raptures and ecstasy into their devotions; they received this extraordinary news with all the wonder and amazement it deserved. And, in the height of their surprise, they cried out, *Is Saul also amongst the prophets?* i. e. Is Saul, who throughout his whole reign, hath so much slighted and contemned the Law, and would conduct all his actions by the mere rules of human Policy, is he at length become studious of and zealous for the *Law of God?* And the *miracle*, of such a change in a Politician, brought it into a proverb before the mistake was found out.

This matter will receive farther light from what we are told, in the same story, concerning DAVID; a man of so opposite a character, with regard to his sentiments of the Law, that it appears to have been for this difference only that he was decreed by GOD to succeed the other, in his kingdom. Now David, the story tells us, sojourned for some time in this School.—*So David fled and escaped, and came to Samuel at Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him, and* HE AND SAMUEL WENT AND DWELT IN NAIOTH *. And here it was, as we may reasonably conclude, that he so greatly cultivated and improved his natural disposition of love and zeal for the Law, as to merit that most glorious of all titles, THE MAN AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART; for, till now, his way of life had been very distant from accomplishments of this nature; his childhood and youth were spent in the country; and his early manhood in camps and courts †. But it is of importance to the cause of truth to know, that this CHARACTER was not given him for his PRIVATE morals, but his PUBLIC; his zeal for the advancement of the glory of the THEOCRACY. This is seen from the first mention of him under this appellation, by Samuel, who tells Saul—*But now thy kingdom shall not continue.—The Lord hath sought him* A MAN AFTER HIS OWN HEART, *and the Lord hath commanded him to be Captain over his People* ‡. And again, God himself says, *I have chosen Jerusalem that my name might be*

* 1 Sam. xix. 18.

† See note [UUUU] at the end of this Book.

‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 14.

there, and have chosen DAVID *to be over my people Israel* *. Here David's vicegerency, we see, is represented to be as necessary to the support of the Economy, as God's peculiar residence in Jerusalem. Conformably to these ideas it was, that Hosea, prophesying of the restoration of the Jews, makes the God of Israel and his Vicegerent inseparable parts of the Economy. —*Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the* LORD *their* GOD *and* DAVID *their* KING †; i. e. they shall have the same zeal for the dispensation which king David had; and on account of which they shall honour his memory. Now if we would but seek for the reason of this pre-eminence, in David's *public*, not in his *private* character, we should see it afforded no occasion of scandal ‡. His zeal for the Law was constantly the same: as is manifest by this distinguishing circumstance, that he never fell into Idolatry. But the phrase itself, of *a man after God's own heart*, is best explained in the case of Samuel. ELI the prophet was rejected, and SAMUEL put in his place just in the same manner that DAVID superseded SAUL. On this occasion, when God's purpose was denounced to Eli, we find it expressed in the same manner—*And I will raise me up a faithful priest*, THAT SHALL DO ACCORDING TO THAT WHICH IS IN MINE HEART ||. What was then *in God's heart* (to speak in the language of humanity) the context tells us, *The establishment of his Dispensation.* Thus, we see, *the man after God's own heart* is the man who seconds God's views in the support of the Theocracy. No other virtue was here in question. Though in an indefinite way of speaking, where the subject is only the general relation of man to God, no one can, indeed, be called a *man after God's own heart*, but he who uses his best endeavours to imitate God's purity as far as miserable humanity will allow, in the uniform practice of every virtue.

By this time, therefore, I presume, the serious Reader will be disposed to take for just what it is worth, that refined observation of the noble author of the Characteristics, where he says, " It is not possible, by the *Muse's*

* 2 Chron. vi. 6. † Hos. iii. 5.

‡ See note [XXXX] at the end of this Book. || 1 Sam. ii. 35.

" *art*,

" *art*, to make that royal Hero appear amiable in human " eyes, who found such favour in the eye of Heaven. " Such are mere human hearts, that they can hardly " find the least sympathy with that ONLY ONE which " had the character of being after the pattern of the " Almighty *."—His lordship seems willing to make any thing *the test of truth*, but that only which has a claim to it, RIGHT REASON. Sometimes this *test* is RIDICULE; here, it is the ART OF POETRY—*it is not possible* (says he) *for the Muse's art to make that royal Hero appear amiable in human eyes.* Therefore, because DAVID was not a character to be managed by the Poet, for the Hero of a fiction, he was not a fit instrument in the hands of God, to support a Theocracy: and having nothing amiable in the eyes of our noble Critic, there could be nothing in him to make him acceptable to his Maker. But when classical criticism goes beyond its bounds, it is liable to be bewildered: as here. The noble Author assures us that David was the only man *characterized*, to be AFTER GOD'S OWN HEART, whereas we see the very same character is given of Samuel; and both honoured with this glorious appellation for the same reason.

II. As for the GREAT SANHEDRIM, it seems to have been established after the failure of Prophecy. And concerning the members of this body, the Rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be skilled in all sciences †. So far is certain, that they extended their jurisdiction to the judging of doctrines and opinions, as appears by their deputation to JESUS, to know by what authority he did his great works. And as the address of our blessed Saviour on this occasion deserves well to be illustrated, I shall set down the occurrence as it is recorded by St. Matthew:—" When " he was come into the temple, the chief priests and " the elders of the people came unto him as he was " teaching, and said, By what authority dost thou these " things? And who gave thee this authority? And JESUS " answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one " thing, which if you tell me, I in like wise will tell you " by what authority I do these things. The baptism of

* Advice to an Author, Sect. 3. vol. i.

† See Smith's Select Discourses, p. 258.

" *John*,

" *John*, whence was it? from heaven, or of men? And " they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, " From heaven, he will say unto us, Why did ye not " then believe him? But if we shall say, Of men; we fear " the people: for all hold *John* as a prophet. And " they answered JESUS, and said, We cannot tell. And " he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what au- " thority I do these things *." We are not to suppose this to be a captious evasion of a question made by those whose authority he did not acknowledge. On the contrary, it was a direct reply to an acknowledged jurisdiction, (as JESUS was obedient to all the institutions of his country) convincing them that the question needed not, even on the principles of that jurisdiction, any precise answer. They sent to him to know the authority on which he acted. He asks them whether they had yet determined of John's: they say, they had not. Then replies JESUS, " I need not tell you my authority; since the Sanhedrim's not having yet determined of John's, shews such a determination unnecessary; or at least, since (both by John's account and mine) he is represented as the forerunner of my mission, it is fit to begin with his pretensions first." The address and reasoning of this reply are truly divine.

The foregoing observations concerning this method of divine wisdom, in the establishment of the Jewish Theocracy, will be much supported, if we contrast it with that which Providence was pleased to take in the propagation of Christianity.

The blessed JESUS came down to teach mankind a spiritual Religion, the object of each individual as such; and offered to their acceptance on the sole force of its own evidence. The Propagators of this religion had no need to be endowed with worldly authority or learning; for here was no Body of men to be conducted: nor no civil Policy or government to be erected or administered. Had JESUS, on the contrary, made choice of the Great and Learned for this employment, they had discredited their own success. It might have been then objected, that the Gospel had made its way by the aid of human power or sophistry. To preserve, therefore, the splen-

* Chap. xxi. 23, & seq.

dour

dour of its evidence unsullied, the meanest and most illiterate of a barbarous people were made choice of, for the instruments of GOD's last great Revelation to mankind: armed with no other power but of Miracles, and that only for the credence of their mission; and with no other wisdom but of Truth, and that only to be proposed freely to the understandings of Particulars. St. Paul, who had fathomed the mysterious depths of divine wisdom under each Economy, was so penetrated with the view of this last Dispensation, that he breaks out into this rapturous and triumphant exclamation, *Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world* * ?

But further, Divine wisdom so wonderfully contrived, that the inability and ignorance of the Propagators of Christianity were as useful to the advancement of this Religion, as the authority and wisdom of the Leader of the Jews were for the establishment of theirs.

I shall only give one instance out of many which will occur to an attentive reader of the Evangelic history.

When JESUS had chosen these mean and weak instruments of his power, he suffered them to continue in their national prejudices concerning his Character; the nature of his kingdom; and the extent of his jurisdiction; as the sole human means of keeping them attached to his service, not only during the course of their attendance on his ministry, but for some time after his resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them; that Power which was to *lead them into all truth*; but by just and equal steps. Let us see the use of this, in the following circumstance: From the order of the whole of GOD's Dispensation to mankind, as laid down in Scripture, we learn, that the offer of the Gospel was to be first fairly made to the Jews; and then afterwards to the Gentiles. Now when, soon after the ascension of our Lord, the Church was forced, by the persecution of the Synagogue, to leave Judea, and to disperse itself through all the regions round about; had the Apostles, on this dispersion, been fully instructed in the design of GOD to call the Gentiles into his church, resentment for

* 1 Cor. i. 20.

their

their ill usage within Judea, and the small prospect of better success amongst those who were without, which they of Jerusalem had prejudiced against the Gospel, would naturally have disposed them to turn immediately to the Gentiles. By which means GOD's purpose, without a supernatural force upon their minds, had been defeated; as so great a part of the Jews would not have had the Gospel *first preached unto them*. But now pushed on by this commodious prejudice, that the benefits belonged properly to the race of Abraham, they directly addressed themselves to their brethren of the *dispersion:* where meeting with the same ill success, their sense of the desperate condition of the house of Israel would now begin to abate that prejudice in their favour. And then came the time to enlighten them in this matter, without putting too great a force upon their minds; which is not GOD's way of acting with free agents. Accordingly, his purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church was now clearly revealed to PETER at Joppa; and a proper subject, wherewith to begin this great work, was ready provided for him.

But though ignorance in the Propagator of a divine truth amongst particulars, may serve to these important ends, yet to shew still plainer how pernicious this inability would be wherever a Society is concerned, as in the establishment of the Jewish Religion, I shall produce an occasional example even in the Christian.

For when now so great numbers of the Gentiles were converted to CHRIST, that it became necessary to form them into a Church; that is, a religious Society; which of course hath its Policy as well as the Civil; so hurtful was ignorance in its governing members, that divers of them, though graced with many gifts of the holy Spirit, caused such disorders in their assemblies as required all the abilities of the LEARNED APOSTLE to reform and regulate. And then it was, and for this purpose, that PAUL, the proper Apostle of the Gentiles *, was, in an extraordinary manner, called in, to conduct, by his learning and abilities, and with the assistance of his companion LUKE, a learned man also, this part of GOD's

* *The gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto* Peter. Gal. ii. 7.

purpose

purpose to its completion. The rest were properly Apostles of the Jews; which people having a religious Society already formed, the converts from thence had a kind of rule to go by, which served them for their present occasions; and therefore these needed no great talents of parts or learning; nor had they any. But a new Society was to be formed amongst the Gentile converts; and this required an able conductor; and such an one they had in Paul. But will any one say that his learning afforded an objection against the divinity of his mission? We conclude, therefore, that none can arise from the abilities, natural and acquired, of the great Jewish Lawgiver. The point to be proved.

II. We come now to the second part of the Proposition, *That the Laws instituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are no reasonable objection to the divinity of the Jewish Religion.* That most of these Laws were given in *opposition* to Egyptian superstitions, believers seem not unwilling to allow; as apprehending no consequence from such a concession that will give them trouble. The thing which startles them is the supposition that some of these Laws were given in *compliance* to the Jewish prejudices; because infidels have inforced this circumstance to the discredit of Moses's pretensions. To satisfy believers, therefore, I shall shew, "that the Laws in *compliance* were a consequence of the Laws in *opposition*." And to reconcile them to both sorts, I shall attempt to prove, from the double consideration of their NECESSITY and FITNESS, that the institution of such Laws is no reasonable objection to the divinity of their original.

I. If GOD did indeed interfere in the concerns of this People, it will, I suppose, be easily granted, that his purpose was to separate them from the contagion of that universal idolatry, which had now overspread the whole earth; and to which, especially to the EGYPTIAN, they were most inveterately prone.

There were two ways, in the hand of GOD, for effecting this separation: either to overrule the Will; and this required only the exercise of his power: or, by leaving

leaving the Will at liberty, to counterwork the passions; and this required the exercise of his WISDOM.

Now, as all the declared purposes of this separation shew, that GOD acted with the Israelites as MORAL AGENTS, we must needs conclude, notwithstanding the peculiar favour by which they were elected, and the extraordinary providence by which they were conducted, that yet, amidst all this display and blaze of almighty Power, the WILL ever remained free and uncontrolled. This not only appears from the nature of the thing, but from the whole history of their reduction out of Egypt. To give only one instance: Moses tells us, that GOD led the Israelites into the land of Canaan, not by the direct way of the Philistines, lest the sight of danger, in an expedition against a strong and warlike People, should make them chuse to return to Egypt, and seek for refuge in their slavery: But he led them about, by the way of the Wilderness, to inure them by degrees to fatigue and hardships; the best foundation of military prowess*. And when GOD, to punish them for their cowardice, on the report of the faithless explorers of the land, had decreed that that generation should be worn away in the Wilderness †, the wise policy of this sentence was as conspicuous as the justice of it.

If then the Wills of this people were to be left free, and their minds influenced only by working on their passions, it is evident, that GOD, when he became their Lawgiver, would act by the same policy in use amongst human Lawgivers for restraining the vicious inclinations of the People. The same, I say, in kind, though differing infinitely in degree. For all People, whether conducted on divine or human measures, having the same nature, the same liberty of Will, and the same terrestrial situation, must needs require the same mode of guidance. And, in fact, we find the Jewish to be indeed constituted like other Civil governments, with regard to the integral parts of a Political society.

According to all human conception, therefore, we see no way left to keep such a People, thus separated, free from the contagion of idolatry, but,

* Exod. xiii. 17. † Numb. xiii. and xiv.

First,

First, by severe penal Laws against idolaters;

And, Secondly, by framing a multifarious Ritual, whose whole direction, looking contrary to the forbidden superstitions, would, by degrees, wear out the present fondness for them; and at length bring on an habitual aversion to them. This is the way of wise Lawgivers; who, in order to keep the Will from revolting, forbear to do every thing by direct force and fear of punishment; but employ, where they can, the gentler methods of restraint.

Thirdly, but as even in the practice of this gentler method, when the passions and prejudices run high, a direct and professed opposition will be apt to irritate and inflame them; therefore it will be further necessary, in order to break and elude their violence, to turn men's fondness for the forbidden practice into a harmless channel; and by indulging them in those customs, which they could not well abuse to superstition, enable the more severe and opposite institutions to perform their work. Such, for instance, might be the *lighting up of lamps* in religious Worship: which practice, Clemens Alexandrinus assures us, came first from the Egyptians*: nor would Witsius himself venture to deny it †. But, for the same reason, we conclude that the *brazen serpent* was no imitation of an Egyptian practice, as Sir J. Marsham would persuade us; because we see how easily it might, and did suffer abuse. Which conclusion, not only our principle leads us to make, but matter of fact enables us to prove‡.

Such a conduct therefore as this, where the Will is left free, appears to be NECESSARY.

II. Let us see next whether it were FIT, that is, Whether it agreed with the wisdom, dignity, and purity of GOD.

1. His WISDOM indeed is the Attribute peculiarly manifested in this method of government; and certainly with as great lustre as we should have seen his POWER,

* Αἰγύπτιοι λύχνους καίειν πρῶτοι κατέδειξαν. Strom. l. i. p. 306. Edit. Colon. 1688. fol.

† Earum [lucernarum] prima ad religionem accensio, utrum Hebræis debeatur, an Ægyptiis, haud facile dixero. Ægypt. p. 190.

‡ See above.

had

had it been his good pleasure to have overruled the Will. To give an instance only in one particular, most liable to the ridicule of unbelievers; I mean, in that part of the Jewish Institute which concerns *clean* and *unclean* meats; and descends to so low and minute a detail, that men, ignorant of the nature and end of this regulation, have, on its apparent *unfitness* to engage the concern of GOD, concluded against the divine original of the Law. But would they reflect, that the purpose of separating one People from the contagion of universal idolatry, and this, in order to facilitate a still greater good, was a design not unworthy the Governor of the Universe, they would see this part of the Jewish Institution in a different light: They would see the brightest marks of divine wisdom in an injunction which took away the very grounds of all commerce with foreign Nations. For those who can neither eat nor drink together, are never likely to become intimate. This will open to us the admirable method of divine Providence in PETER's *vision*. The time was now come that the Apostle should be instructed in GOD's purpose of calling the Gentiles into the Church: At the hour of repast, therefore, he had a scenical representation of all kind of meats, *clean* and *unclean*; of which he was bid to take and eat indifferently and without distinction *. The primary design of this vision, as appears by the context, was to inform him that the *partition-wall* was now broken down, and that the Gentiles were to be received into the Church of CHRIST. But besides its figurative meaning, it had a literal; and signified, that the distinction of MEATS, as well as of MEN, was now to be abolished. And how necessary such an information was, when he was about to go upon his mission to the Gentiles, and was to conciliate their benevolence and good-will, I have observed above. But although this was the principal cause of the distinction of meats into clean and unclean, yet another was certainly for the preservation of health. This institution was of necessity to be observed in the first case, to secure the great object of a *separation:* and in the second case (which is no trivial mark of the wisdom of the Institutor) it might be safely and commodiously

* Acts x. 10, et seq.

observed

observed by a People thus *separated*, who were consequently to be for ever confined within the limits of one country. And here the absurdity of this part of Mahometanism evidently betrays itself. Mahomet would needs imitate the Law of Moses, as in other things, so in this *the distinction of meats, clean and unclean*; without considering that in a Religion formed for conquest, whose followers were to inhabit Regions of the most different and contrary qualities, the food which in one climate was hurtful or nutritive, in another changed its properties to their contraries. But to shew still more clearly the difference between Institutions formed at hazard, and those by divine appointment, we may observe, that when Judaism arrived at its completion in Christianity, the followers of which were the inhabitants of all Climes, the distinction between meats clean and unclean was abolished; which, at the same time, serving other great ends explained above, shew the Dispensation (in the course of which these several changes of the Economy took place) to be really Divine.

2. As to the DIGNITY and Majesty of GOD, that, surely, does not suffer, in his not interfering with his power, to force the Will, but permitting it to be drawn and inclined by those *cords of a man*, his natural motives. The dignity of any Being consists in observing a conformity between his actions, and his quality, or station. Now it pleased the GOD of heaven to take upon himself the office of supreme Magistrate of the Jewish Republic. But it is (as we have shewn) the part of a wise Magistrate to restrain a People, devoted to any particular superstition, by a Ritual directly *opposite* in the general to that superstition; and yet *similar* in such particular practices as could not be abused or perverted: because compliance with the popular prejudices in things indifferent, naturally eludes the force of their propensity to things evil. In this wise Policy, therefore, the dignity of the GOD of heaven was not impaired.

3. Nor is his PURITY any more affected by this supposed conduct. The Rites, in question, are owned to be, in themselves, indifferent; and good or evil only as they are directed to a true or false object.

If it be said "that their carnal nature, or wearisome

multiplicity, or scrupulous observance, render them unworthy of the purity and spiritual nature of GOD:" To Believers, I reply, that this objection holds equally against these Rites in whatever view they themselves are wont to regard them:—To Unbelievers; that they forget, or do not understand GOD's primary end, in the institution of the Jewish Ritual; which was, to preserve the people from the contagion of these idolatrous practices with which they were surrounded. But nothing could be so effectual to this purpose, as such a Ritual. And since the continual proneness of that People to idolatry hath been shewn to arise from the inveterate prejudice of *intercommunity of worship*, nothing could be so effectual as the extreme minuteness of their Ritual.

If it be said, "that the former abuse of these *indulged Rites* to an abominable superstition had made them unfit to be employed in the service of the GOD of purity?" I reply, that there is nothing in the nature of things, to make them *unfit*. That a material substance, materially soiled, stained, and infected, is unfit to approach and be joined to one of great cleanness and purity, is not to be denied. But let us not mistake words for things; and draw a metaphysical conclusion from a metaphorical expression. The soil and stain, in the case before us, is altogether figurative, that is, unreal. And in truth, the very objection is taken from the command of this very Law, to abstain from things polluted by idolatry: But we now understand, that the reason of its so severely forbidding the use of some things that had been abused to superstition, was the very same with its indulging the use of others which had been equally abused; namely, to compass, by the best, though different yet concording means, that one great end, *the* EXTIRPATION OF IDOLATRY. Notwithstanding this, the Law concerning things polluted, like many other of the Jewish observances, hath occasionally been adopted by different Sects in the Christian church. Thus our PURITANS, who seem to have had their name from the subject in debate, quarrelled with the established use of the cross in baptism, the surplice, and the posture of communicating, because they had been abused to the support

support of popish superstition*. I chuse this instance, that the Men whom I am arguing against, may see the issue of their objection; and that They, from whom the instance is taken, may be shewn the unreasonableness of their separation; as far at least as it was occasioned on account of ceremonies.

If, lastly, it be said, "that these Rites, which once had been, might be again, abused to superstition; and were therefore *unfit* to be employed in this new service;" I reply, that this is a mistake. For, 1. We go on the supposition, that the Jews were indulged in no practices capable of being so abused. 2. That though they might in themselves be subject to abuse, yet they carried their corrective with them: which was, first, their being intermixed with a vast number of other Rites directly opposite to all idolatrous practice; and, secondly, their making part of a burdensome multifarious Worship, which would keep the people so constantly employed, as to afford them neither time nor occasion, from the cause in question, of falling into foreign idolatries.

But how can I hope to be heard in defence of this conduct of the GOD of Israel, when even the believing part of those whom I oppose seem to pay so little attention to the reasoning of JESUS himself; who has admirably illustrated and vindicated the wisdom of this conduct, in the familiar parable of *new cloth in old garments*, and *new wine in old bottles*†: which, though given in answer to a particular question, was intended to instruct us in this general truth, That it is the way of God to accommodate his Institutions to the state, the condition, and contracted habits, of his creatures.

But as this notion hath been condemned ex cathedra‡; and the *Ægyptiaca* of HERMAN WITSIUS recommended to the clergy, *as a distinct and solid confutation* of *Spencer's book, de legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*; I shall

* See note [YYYY] at the end of this Book.

† *And he spake also a parable unto them, No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old: if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was taken out of the new, agreeth not with the old. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles, else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.* Luke v. 36.

‡ Waterland's Charge to the Clergy of Middlesex.

examine what that learned Foreigner hath to say against it. All Witsius's reasoning on this point is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of his third book; which I shall endeavour to pick out, and set in the fairest light.

1. His first argument is, "that it is a dishonouring of GOD, who has the hearts of men in his power, and can turn them as he pleases, to conceive of him as standing in need of the tricks of crafty Politicians; not but, he confesses, that GOD deals with men as reasonable creatures, and attains his end by fit and adequate means; and, in the choice of these means, manifests a wisdom perfectly admirable." Yet, for all this, he says, "we cannot, without the highest contumely, presume to compare the sacred Policy of Heaven with the arts and shifts of the beggarly politics of this world *."—All I find here is only misrepresentation. Spencer never compared the wisdom of GOD, in the institution of the Jewish republic, to the *tricks* and *shifts* of politicians; but to their *legitimate arts* of Government, conducted on the rules of strict morality. And if, as this writer owns, GOD *dealt with the Israelites as reasonable creatures, and attained his end by fit and adequate means*, he must needs use a wisdom the same in kind, though vastly different in degree, with what we call human policy. But indeed, he seems reconciled to the thing: it is the name only which he dislikes. If his followers say otherwise, I desire they would explain, in some intelligible manner, their idea of that *wisdom*, in GOD's civil government of a people, which is not founded in the

* Verum enimvero quantamcunque hæc civilis prudentiæ speciem habeant, præter Dei verbum cuncta dicuntur, & humani commenta sunt ingenii, divini numinis majestate haud satis digna. Nimirum cauti catique in seculo mortales Deum ex sua metiuntur indole: arcanasque imperandi artes, & vaframenta politicorum, quæ vix terra probet, cœlo locant. Quasi vero in populo sibi formando firmandoque iis astutiarum ambagibus indigeat is, qui, mortalium corda in manu sua habens, ea, quorsum vult, flectit. Non nego equidem Deum cum hominibus, uti cum creaturis rationalibus, agentem, media adhibere iis persuadendis idonea, inque eorum mediorum delectu sapientiam ostendere prorsus admirabilem. Attamen Dei sanctissima ista sapientia cum politicorum astibus ac vafritie comparari sine insigni illius contumelia non potest. p. 282.

exercise

exercise of almighty power, and is yet different in kind from what we call Policy.

2. His second argument is, "That, as GOD erected a new Republic, it was his will that it should *appear* new to the Israelites. Its structure was not to be patched up out of the rubbish of the Canaanitish or Egyptian Rites, but was formed according to the model brought down from heaven, and shewn to Moses in the Mount. Nor was it left to the people to do the least thing in religious matters, on their own head. All was determinately ordered, even to the most minute circumstance; which was so bound upon them, that they could not do, or omit, any the least thing contrary to the Law, without becoming liable to immediate punishment *."—If, by this NEWNESS of the Jewish Republic, be meant, that it was different in many fundamental circumstances from all other civil policies, so as to vindicate itself to its divine Author; I not only agree with him, but, which is more than he and his recommender could do, have proved it. But this sense makes nothing to the point in question. If by NEWNESS be meant, that it had nothing in common with any of the neighbouring Institutions; To make this credible, he should have proved that GOD gave them new *hearts*, new *natures*, and a new *world*, along with their new *Government*. There is the same ambiguity in what he says of the *appearance* of newness to the Israelites. For it may signify either that the Institution appeared so new as to be seen to come from GOD; or that it appeared so new as not to resemble, in any of its parts, the Institutions of men. The first is true, but not to the purpose: the latter is to the purpose, but not true. —From the fact, of the Law's *coming down entire from heaven*, he concludes that the genius and prejudices of the Israelites were not at all consulted: From the same

* Uti revera novam moliebatur rempublicam, ita et novam, qualis erat, videri eam Israëlitis voluit. Quippe cujus forma sive species, non ex rituum ruderibus Canaaniticorum aut Ægyptiacorum efficta, sed cœlitus delapsa, Mosi primum in sacro monstrata monte erat, ut ad illud instar cuncta in Israële componerentur. Neque permissum esse populo voluit, ut in religionis negotio vel tantillum suo ageret arbitratu. Omnia determinavit ipse, ad minutissimas usque circumstantias; quibus ita eos alligavit, ut non sine præsentaneo vitæ discrimine quicquam vel omittere, vel aliter agere potuerint. p. 282, 283.

fact, I conclude, that they were consulted: which of us has concluded right is left to the judgment of the public. Let me only observe, That ignorant men may compose, and have composed Laws in all things opposite to the bent and genius of a people; and they have been obeyed accordingly. But, when divine wisdom frames an Institution, we may be sure that no such solecism as that of *putting new wine into old bottles* will ever be committed.—*But the people were not consulted even in the least thing that concerned religious matters.* How is this to be reconciled with their free choice of GOD for their King; and with his indulgence of their impious clamours afterwards for a Vicegerent or another king? This surely *concerned religious matters*, and very capitally too, in a Policy where both the Societies were perfectly incorporated.—*But every thing was determined even to the most minute circumstances, and to be observed under the severest penalties.* What this makes for his point, I see not. But this I see, that, if indeed there were that indulgence in the Law which I contend for, these two circumstances of *minute prescription*, and *severe penalties*, must needs attend it: and for this plain reason; Men, when indulged in their prejudices, are very apt to transgress the bounds of that indulgence; it is therefore necessary that those bounds should be minutely marked out, and the transgression of them severely punished.

3. His third argument is—"That no religious Rites, formerly used by the Israelites, on their own head, were, after the giving of the law, PERMITTED, out of regard to habitude; but all things PRESCRIBED and COMMANDED: and this so precisely, that it was unlawful to deviate a finger's breadth either to the right hand or to the left *."—This indeed is an observation which I cannot reconcile to the learned writer's usual candour and ingenuity. He is writing against Spencer's system: and here he brings an argument against it, which he saw

* Nec ulli in religione ritus fuerunt, ab Israëlitis olim sine numine usurpati, quibus propter assuetudinem ut in posterum quoque uterentur lege lata *permisit*: sed præscripta *jussaque* sunt omnia. Et quidem ita distincte, ut nec transversum digitum dextrorsum aut sinistrorsum declinare fas fuerit. Deut. v. p. 283.

in

in Spencer's book had been brought against Grotius (who was in that system), and which Spencer answers in defence of Grotius. Therefore, as this answer will serve in defence of Spencer himself against Witsius, I shall give it at at the bottom of the page *. For the rest, I apprehend all the force of this third argument to lie only in a quibble on the equivocal use of the word PERMISSION, which signifies either a *tacit connivance*, or *legal allowance*. Now Spencer used the word in this latter sense †. But *permission*, in this sense, is very consistent with *every thing's being expressly prescribed and commanded in the law*.

4. His fourth argument proceeds thus,—"But farther, God neither *permitted* nor *commanded*, that the Israelites should worship him after the Pagan mode of worship. For it had been the same thing to GOD not to be worshipped at all, as to be worshipped by Rites used in the service of Demons. And Moses teaches us that the Laws of God were very different from what Spencer imagined; as appears from Deut. xii. 30, 31, 32. and from Lev. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Here the reason given of forbidding the vanities of Egypt, is, that Jehovah, who

* Testium meorum agmen claudit Grotius—Authoris verba sunt hæc: "*Sicut fines sacrificiorum diversi sunt,—ita et ritus, qui aut* "*ab Hebræis ad alias gentes venere, aut, quod credibilius est, a Syris* "*& Ægyptiis usurpati, correcti sunt ab Hebræis, & ab aliis gentibus* "*sine ea emendatione ursurpati.* Hic in Grotium paulo animosius "insurgit auctor nuperus: nam *hoc*, ait ille, *cum impietate et ab-* "*surditate conjunctum est.* Quid ita? *Num enim*, respondet ille, "*Deum sanctissima sua instituta, quæ ipse prolixe sancivit, et conscribi* "*in religiosam observationem, per inspirationem numinis sui, voluit* "*credemus ab idolatria Syrorum & Ægyptiorum mutuo sumpsisse?* "*Neque ea pro libitu Ebræi assumpserunt, aut assumpta emendarunt,* "*sed omnia & singula divinitus in lege præscripta sunt, et juxta ejus* "*normam exactissime observari debuerunt.*" At opinio Grotii multo solidior est, quam ut mucrone tam obtuso confodi possit. Non enim asserit ille, vel sanus quispiam, Hebræos ritum ullum a gentibus, pro libitu suo, sumpsisse, vel sumptum pro ingenio suo correxisse. Id unum sub locutione figurata, contendit Grotius, Deum nempe ritus aliquos, usu veteri confirmatos (emendatos tamen, et ignem quasi purgatorium passos) a gentibus accepisse, et Hebræis usurpandos tradidisse; ne populus ille, rituum ethnicorum amore præceps, ad cultum et superstitionem Gentilium rueret, ni more plurimum veteri cultum præstare concederetur. De Leg. Heb. rit. vol. ii. p. 748, 749.

† See note [ZZZZ] at the end of this Book.

brought them out from amongst that people, will, from henceforth, allow no farther communication with Egypt. Small appearance of any indulgence. And hence indeed it is, that most of the ritual Laws are directly levelled against the Egyptian, Zabian, and Canaanitish superstitions, as Maimonides confesseth *."—As to what this learned man says, that we may as well not worship God at all as worship him by Rites which have been employed in Paganism, we have already overturned the foundation of that fanatical assertion. It is true, the argument labours a little in the hands of Spencer and Maimonides; while they suppose the Devil himself to be the principal Architect of Pagan Superstition: for to believe that God would employ any Rites introduced by this evil Spirit is indeed of somewhat hard digestion. But that writer, who conceives them to be the inventions of superstitious and designing men only, hath none of this difficulty to encounter. As for the observation, that *most of the ritual Laws were levelled against idolatrous superstition*, we are so far from seeing any inconsistency between this truth and that other, "that some of those *ritual Laws* did indulge the people in such habituated practices, as could not be abused to superstition," that, on the contrary, we see a necessary connexion between them. For if severe Laws were given to a people against superstitions, to which they were violently bent, it would be very proper to indulge them in some of their favourite habits, so far forth as safely they could be indulged, in order to break the violence of the rest, and to give the

* Porro nec *permisit*, nec *jussit* Deus, ut eo se modo Israëlitæ colerent, quo modo Deos suos colebant Gentiles; veritus scilicet ne per veteres istas vanitates Dæmoni cultum deferrent, si minus Deo licuisset. Nam et inanis ille metus erat: quum Deo propemodum perinde sit, sive quis Dæmoni cultum deferat, sive per vanitates aliquas veteres Deo cultum deferre præsumat. Et longe aliter Deum instituisse Moses docet, Deut. xiii. 30, 31, 32. adde Levit. xviii. 2, 3, 4. Audin', Spencere, qua ratione ab Ægyptiacis vanitatibus ad suorum observantiam præceptorum Israëlitas Deus avocet? Eo id facit homine, quod ipse Jehova et Deus ipsorum sit, qui ex Ægypto eos eripiens nihil posthac cum Ægyptiorum vanitatibus commune habere voluit. Hoc profecto non est, id quod tu dicis, allicere eos per umbratiles veterum Ægypti rituum reliquias. Atque hinc factum est ut plurima Deus legibus suis ritualibus inseruerit, Ægyptiorum, Zabiorum, Canaanæorum institutis ἐκ παραλλήλου opposita—Cujus rei varia a nobis exempla alibi allata sunt. p. 283, 284.

body

body of opposed Laws a fuller liberty of working their effect. And if they had Laws likewise given them in indulgence, it would be necessary to accompany such Laws with the most severe prohibitions of idolatrous practice, and of the least deviation from a tittle of the Institute. In a word, Laws in direct *opposition*, and Laws in *conformity* or compliance, had equally, as we say, the same tendency, and jointly concurred to promote the same end; namely, the preservation of the Israelites from idolatry *.

5. His fifth argument runs thus,—"Indulgence was so far from being the end of the Law, that the Ritual was given as a most heavy yoke, to subdue and conquer the ferocity of that stiff-necked people, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3. Col. ii. 21†."—By this one would imagine, his adversaries had contended for such a kind of indulgence as arose out of GOD's fondness for a chosen People; when indeed, they suppose it to be only such an indulgence as tended the more effectually and expeditiously to subdue and conquer the ferocity of their savage tempers:

\- - - - - *Quos optimus*
Faller & effugere est triumphus.

If, therefore, *that* were the END of the Law which Witsius himself contends for, we may be assured that this indulgence was one of the MEANS. But the principal and more general *means* being Laws in direct opposition, this justified the character the Apostle gives of the Jewish Ritual, in the two places urged against us.

6. His sixth argument is,—"That the intent of the Law was to separate the Israelites, by a partition-wall, as it were, from all other people, which, by its diversity, might set them at a distance from idolaters, and create an aversion to idolatry ‡."—As to the first effect of the

* See note [AAAAA] at the end of this Book.

† Id sibi primum in ritutm jussione propositum habuit Deus, ut laboriosis istis exercitiis *ferociam* populi indomitam, veluti *difficillimo jugo, subigeret*, Gal. iv. 1, 2, 3. Col. ii. 21. p. 286.

‡ Deinde hæc quoque Dei in rituum jussione intentio fuit, ut eorum observantia, veluti *pariete intergerino*, eos à gentium communione longè semoveret, Eph. ii. 14, 15.—Quum autem legem præceptorum in ritibus *inimicitias* Apostolus vocat, hoc inter cætera innuit, fuisse eam symbolum atque instrumentum divisionis atque odii inter Israëlem & gentes. p. 287, 288.

diversity

diversity of the Jewish Law, the keeping the people distinct; if the learned writer would thereby insinuate (which is indeed to his point) that this distinction could be kept up only while the Jews and other nations had no similar Rites; it could never, even by the means he himself prescribes, be long kept up at all. For if the Jews were not indulged in the imitation of any Pagan Rites, the Pagans might indulge themselves in the imitation of the Jewish: as indeed they are supposed to have done in the practice of CIRCUMCISION: and so this *partition-wall*, if only built of this untempered mortar of Witsius's providing, would soon tumble of itself. But the very case here given shews no necessity for ALL the laws to be in opposition, in order to secure a separation; the Jews being as effectually separated from all their neighbours when most of them used the rite of *circumcision*, as when these Jews practised it without a rival. And the reason is this, CIRCUMCISION was not given to Abraham and to his race as a mark of distinction and separation from all other people, but, what its constant use made it only fit for, a standing memorial of the covenant between GOD and Abraham. *And ye shall circumcise* (says God) *the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT *between me and you.* Gen. xvii. 11. But though it was not given as a mark of separation, yet it effectually answered that purpose: for it preserved the memory, or was the *token*, of a covenant, which necessarily kept them separate and distinct from the rest of mankind. As to the other effect of this diversity of the Jewish Law, namely the creating an aversion to the Rites of all other nations; in this, the learned writer hath betrayed his ignorance of human nature. For we always find a more inveterate hatred and aversion, between people of differing Religions where several things are alike, than where every thing is diametrically opposite: of which a plain cause might be found in the nature of man, whose heart is so much corrupted by his passions. So that the retaining some innocent Egyptian practices, all accompanied with their provisional opposites, would naturally make the Jews more averse to Egypt, than if they had differed in every individual circumstance.

7. His

7. His last argument concludes thus,—" The ceremonies of the Jewish Ritual were types and shadows of heavenly things: It is therefore highly improbable that GOD should chuse the impious and diabolic Sacra of Egypt, and the mummery of Magic practices, for the shadows of such holy and spiritual matters *." Thus he ends, as he began, with hard words and soft arguments. No one ever pretended to say that such kinds of practices were suffered or imitated in the Jewish Ritual. All the indulgence supposed, is of some harmless Rite or innocent Ornament, such as the *lighting up of Lamps, or wearing a Linen garment*. And let me ask, whether these things, though done, as we suppose, in conformity to an Egyptian practice, were more unfit to be made a type or shadow of heavenly things, than the erection *of an altar without steps*; done, as they will allow, in direct opposition to Pagan practice. But it will be shewn under the next head, that the supposition that the Jewish Ritual was framed, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in opposition to idolatrous superstitions, and, at the same time, typical of a future Dispensation, tends greatly to raise and enlarge our ideas of the divine Wisdom.

But it is strange, that such a writer as WITSIUS (whatever we may think of the admirers of his argument) should not see, that the character given of the RITUAL LAW by God himself did not imply that it had a mixture at least of no better stuff than Egyptian and other Pagan practices.

GOD, by the prophet EZEKIEL, upbraiding the Israelites with their perversity and disobedience, from the time of their going out of Egypt to their entrance into the land of Canaan, speaks to them in this manner.—

Ver. 1. " And it came to pass in the seventh year, " in the fifth month, the tenth day of the month, that " certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire of the " Lord, and sat before me.

* Denique & hic cærimoniarum scopus fuit, ut *rerum spiritualium figuræ* atque *umbræ* essent, & exstaret in iis artificiosa *pictura Christi*, ac gratiæ per ipsum impetrandæ—Non est autem probabile, Deum ex impiis Ægyptiorum ac diabolicis sacris, ex veteribus vanitatibus, ex magicæ artis imitamentis, picturas fecisse rerum spiritualium atque cœlestium. p. 289.

" 2. Then

2. "Then came the word of the Lord unto me, saying,
3. "Son of man, speak unto the elders of Israel, and "say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Are ye "come to inquire of me? As I live, saith the Lord God, "I will not be inquired of by you.
4. "Wilt thou judge them, son of man, wilt thou "judge them? cause them to know the abominations of "their fathers;
5. "And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; "In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine "hand unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made "myself known unto them in the land of Egypt, when "I lifted up mine hand unto them, saying, I am the "Lord your God,
6. "In the day that I lifted up mine hand unto them, "to bring them forth of the land of Egypt, into a land "that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and "honey, which is the glory of all lands:
7. "Then said I unto them, Cast ye away every man "the abominations of his eyes, and defile not your-"selves with the idols of Egypt: I am the Lord your "God.
8. "But they rebelled against me, and would not "hearken unto me: they did not every man cast away "the abominations of their eyes, neither did they for-"sake the idols of Egypt: then I said, I will pour out "my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against "them, in the midst of the land of Egypt.
9. "But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should "not be polluted before the heathen, among whom they "were, in whose sight I made myself known unto "them, in bringing them forth out of the land of "Egypt.
10. "Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of "the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wil-"derness.
11. "And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them "my judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live "in them.
12. "Moreover also, I gave them my sabbaths to "be a sign between me and them, that they might know "that I am the Lord that sanctify them.

13. "But

13. " But the house of Israel rebelled against me in
" the wilderness; they walked not in my statutes, and
" they despised my judgments, which if a man do, he
" shall even live in them; and my sabbaths they greatly
" polluted: then I said, I would pour out my fury upon
" them in the wilderness to consume them.

14. " But I wrought for my name's sake, that it
" should not be polluted before the heathen, in whose
" sight I brought them out.

15. " Yet also I lifted up my hand unto them in the
" wilderness, that I would not bring them into the land
" which I had given them, flowing with milk and honey,
" which is the glory of all lands;

16. " Because they despised my judgments, and
" walked not in my statutes, but polluted my sabbaths:
" for their heart went after their idols.

17. " Nevertheless, mine eye spared them from de-
" stroying them, neither did I make an end of them in
" the wilderness.

18. " But I said unto their children in the wilderness,
" Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither
" observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with
" their idols.

19. " I am the Lord your God; walk in my statutes,
" and keep my judgments, and do them;

20. " And hallow my sabbaths; and they shall be a
" sign between me and you, that ye may know that I
" am the Lord your God.

21. " Notwithstanding the children rebelled against
" me: they walked not in my statutes, neither kept my
" judgments to do them, which if a man do, he shall
" even live in them; they polluted my sabbaths: then
" I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to ac-
" complish my anger against them in the wilderness.

22. Nevertheless, I withdrew mine hand, and wrought
" for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in
" the sight of the heathen, in whose sight I brought
" them forth.

23. " I lifted up mine hand unto them also in the
" wilderness, that I would scatter them among the
" heathen, and disperse them through the countries;

24. " Because they had not executed my judgments,
" but

" but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my " sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers idols.

25. " WHEREFORE I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES " THAT WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHERE- " BY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE;

26. " And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that " they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth " the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the " end that they might know that I am the Lord *."

Could the Prophet have possibly given a plainer or more graphical description of the character and genius of the RITUAL LAW, than in those last words? Yet to suit it to theologic purposes, System-makers have endeavoured, in their usual manner, *to interpret it away*, as if it only signified GOD's suffering the Israelites to fall into idolatry. Now if it were not indulged to these men to make use of any arms they can catch hold of, one should be a little scandalized to find that they had borrowed this forced interpretation from the RABBINS; who holding their Law to be perfect, and of eternal obligation, were indeed much concerned to remove this opprobrium from it. Kimchi is recorded for his dexterity in giving it this meaning: though done with much more caution than the Christian writers who took it from him. He supposed that the *statutes not good* were the Tributes imposed on the Israelites while in subjection to their Pagan neighbours. And this takes off something from the unnatural violence of the expression, of GIVING STATUTES, when understood only to signify the permission of abusing their free-will, when they fell into idolatry.

Now, because the right explanation and proper inforcement of this famous passage will, besides its use in the present argument, serve for many considerable purposes, in the sequel of this work, it may not be time mispent to expose this spurious pilfered interpretation. And, as the last inforcer of it, and the most satisfied with his exploit, the late Author of the *Connections between Sacred and Profane History*, takes the honour of it to himself, I shall examine his reasoning at large.

Dr. Spencer, and (I suppose) every capable judge

* Chap. xx. ver. 1—26. inclusive.

before

before him, understood the *statutes and judgments* in the eleventh verse, to signify the MORAL law; and the *statutes and judgments* in the twenty-fifth verse, to signify the RITUAL. But Dr. Shuckford, who always takes a singular pleasure in carping at that faithful Servant of Common-sense, directs the defence of his borrowed novelty, against the great Author of *the Reasons of the Ritual Law*, in the following manner—"The persons spoken of, who had the *statutes given* to them, which were *not good*, were not that generation of men to whom the *whole Law* was given, but their children or posterity. To this posterity, God made no additions to his laws; the whole being completed in the time of their forefathers. Therefore all he GAVE to them of *statutes not good* was the PERMISSION of falling into the Pagan idolatries round about*." This, I believe, his followers will confess to be his argument, though represented in fewer words, yet with greater force: for a perplexed combination of needless repetitions, which fill two or three large pages, have much weakened and obscured his reasoning.

However, it concludes in these very terms: "And "thus it must be undeniably plain, that the Prophet "could not, by the *statutes not good*, mean any part "of the Ritual law: for the whole Law was given to "the fathers of those whom the Prophet now speaks "of; but *these statutes* were not given to the fathers, "but to the descendants. If we go on, and compare "the narrative of the Prophet with the history of "the Israelites, we shall see further, that the *sta*"*tutes and judgments not good* are so far from being "any part of Moses's law, that they were not *given* "earlier than the times of the Judges†;" *i. e.* the Israelites then fell into the idolatries, here called (as this learned interpreter will have it) *statutes and judgments* GIVEN.

And now, to canvass a little this decisive argument—THUS (says he) *it must be undeniably plain—Thus!* that is, Grant him his premisses, and the conclusion follows. Without doubt. But the whole context shews that his premisses are false.

* Con. v. p. 159—161. † Ibid. p. 161.

First

First then let it be observed, that the occasion of the Prophecy, in the xxth chapter of Ezekiel, was this,—The Jews, by certain of their elders, had, as was usual in their distresses, recourse to the God of Israel for direction and assistance [ver. 1.] On this we are informed [ver. 3.] that the word of the Lord came to Ezekiel, bidding him tell these Elders, that GOD would not be inquired of by them: for that their continued rebellions, from their coming out of Egypt, to that time, had made them unworthy of his patronage and protection. Their idolatries are then recapitulated, and divided into three periods. The FIRST, from GOD'S message to them while in Egypt, to their entrance into the promised land—*Thus saith the Lord God, In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up mine hand unto the seed of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt*, &c. and so on, from the fifth to the twenty-sixth verse inclusively. The SECOND period contains all the time from their taking possession of the land of Canaan, to their present condition when this prophecy was delivered—*Therefore, son of man, speak unto the house of Israel, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that they have committed a trespass against me. For* WHEN I HAD BROUGHT THEM INTO THE LAND, *for the which I lifted up mine hand to give it to them, then they saw every high hill*, &c. and so on, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-second verse inclusively. The THIRD period concerns the iniquities, and the consequent punishment of the present generation, which had now applied to him in their distresses—*As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with a stretched-out arm, and with fury poured out,* WILL I RULE OVER YOU, &c. And this is the subject of what we find between the thirty-third and the forty-fourth verse, inclusively.

This short, but exact analysis of the Prophecy, is more than sufficient to overturn Dr. Shuckford's system, founded on a distinction between the *fathers* and the *children* in the eighteenth verse, (which is within the first period) as if the *fathers* related to what happened in the wilderness, and the *children*, to what happened under

under the judges; whereas common sense is sufficient to convince us, that the whole is confined to the two generations, between the exodus from Egypt and the entrance into Canaan.

But the confutation of a foolish system, dishonourable indeed to Scripture, is the least of my concern. Such things will die of themselves. My point, in delivering the truths of GOD as they lie in his Word, is to illustrate the amazing wisdom of that Dispensation to which they belong. Let me observe therefore, as a matter of much greater moment, that this distinction, which the text hath made between the FATHERS and the CHILDREN, in the first period, during their abode in the wilderness, affords us a very noble instance of that divine *mercy* which extends to *thousands*.

The Prophet thus represents the fact. When GOD brought his chosen people out of Egypt, *he gave them his statutes, and shewed them his judgments, which if a man do, he shall live in them. Moreover also, he gave them his sabbaths, to be a sign between him and them* *. That is, he gave them the *moral* law of the Decalogue, in which there was one *positive* institution †, and no more; but this one, absolutely necessary as *the token of a covenant*, to be a perpetual memorial of it, and, by that means, to preserve them a select people, unmixed with the nations. What followed so gracious and generous a dispensation to the house of Israel? Why, *they rebelled against him in the wilderness; they walked not in his statutes, and they despised his judgments, and his Sabbaths they greatly polluted* ‡. On which, he threatened *to pour out his fury upon them in the wilderness, and consume them* ‖. But, in regard to his own glory, lest the Heathen, before whom he brought them out of Egypt, should blaspheme, he thought fit to spare them ¶. Yet so far punished that generation, as never to suffer them to come into the land of Canaan **. Their *children* he spared, that the race might not be consumed as he had first threatened ††. And hoping better things of them than of their Fathers, he said *to them in the wilderness, Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers,*

* Ezek. xx. 11, 12. † The Sabbath. ‡ Ver. 13. ‖ Ver. 16.
¶ Ver. 14. ** Ver. 16. †† Ver. 17.

*neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols. Walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them; and hallow my Sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you**. Here we see, the Children, or immediate progeny, were again offered, as their sole rule of government, what had been given to, and had been violated by their Fathers; namely, the moral law of the Decalogue, and the positive institution of the Sabbath. Well, and how did they behave themselves on this occasion? Just as their fathers had done before them—*Notwithstanding* [the repetition of this offered grace] *the Children rebelled against me, they walked not in my statutes, they polluted my Sabbaths*†. — What followed? The same denunciation which had hung over the Fathers, utter destruction *in the wilderness*‡. However, mercy again prevails over judgment; and the same reason for which he spared their Fathers, inclines him to spare them; lest his *name should be polluted in the sight of the heathen*‖. However due punishment attended their transgressions, as it had done their Fathers'. Their Fathers left their bones in the wilderness: but this perverse race being pardoned, as a People, and still possessed of the privilege of a select and chosen Nation, were neither to be scattered amongst the Heathen, nor to be confined for ever in the wilderness: Almighty Wisdom therefore ordained that their punishment should be such, as should continue them, even against their Wills, a separated race, in possession of the land of Canaan. What this punishment was, the following words declare;—*Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers idols. Wherefore* I GAVE THEM ALSO STATUTES THAT WERE NOT GOOD, AND JUDGMENTS WHEREBY THEY SHOULD NOT LIVE¶. That is, because they had violated my FIRST system of laws, the DECALOGUE, I added to them [I GAVE THEM ALSO, words which imply the giving as a supplement] my SECOND system, the RITUAL LAW; very aptly characterized (when set in opposition to the MORAL LAW)

* Ver. 18, 19, 20. † Ver. 21. ‡ Ver. 21.
‖ Ver. 22. ¶ Ver. 24, 25.

by

by *statutes that were not good, and by judgments whereby they should not live.*

What is here observed, opens to us the admirable reasons of both punishments: and why there was a forbearance, or a second trial, before the *yoke of Ordinances* was imposed. For we must never forget, that the God of Israel transacted with his people according to the mode of human Governors. Let this be kept in mind, and we shall see the admirable progress of the Dispensation. God brought the *Fathers* out of Egypt, to put them in possession of the land of Canaan. He gave them the MORAL LAW to distinguish them for the worshippers of the true God: And he gave them the POSITIVE LAW of the Sabbath to distinguish them for God's peculiar people. These *Fathers* proving perverse and rebellious, their punishment was death in the wilderness, and exclusion from that good land which was reserved for their *Children.* But then these *Children,* in that very Wilderness, the scene of their Fathers' crime and calamity, fell into the same transgressions. What was now to be done? It was plain, so inveterate an evil could be only checked or subdued by the curb of some severe Institution. A severe Institution was prepared; and the RITUAL LAW was established. For the first offence, the punishment was *personal:* but when a repetition shewed it to be inbred, and, like the Leprosy, sticking to the whole race, the punishment was properly changed to *national.*

How clear, how coherent, is every thing, as here explained! How consonant to reason! How full of divine wisdom! Yet, in defiance of Scripture and Common sense (which have a closer connexion than the Enemies of religion suspect, or than the common advocates of it dare venture to maintain) comes a Doctor, and tells us, that these *Children in the Wilderness* of the time of Moses, were *Children of the land of Canaan* in the time of the Judges; and that the *statutes given* which were *not good,* were Pagan idolatries, *not given,* but *suffered*; indeed not *suffered*; because severely, and almost always immediately punished.

What misled our Doctor (whose *Connexions,* by what we have seen, appear to be little better than a *chain* of errors) seems to have been this, The *Ritual law* was

given during the life of the *Fathers*, and soon after their transgression mentioned in the 13th verse of this Prophecy. So he could not conceive how the Prophet should mean that this Law was given to the *Children*. But he did not consider, that the proper punishment of the *Fathers* was extinction in the wilderness: the proper punishment of the *Children*, who were reserved to possess the holy land, was the infliction of the RITUAL LAW.

The Doctor, however, notwithstanding all his complacency in this his adopted system, yet appears conscious of its want of strength; for he owns that an objection may be made to it from the following words of the Prophecy—*But I said unto their children* IN THE WILDERNESS, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your Fathers—walk in my statutes—and hallow my Sabbath* *. And again, of these *Children—then I said I would pour out my fury upon them to accomplish mine anger against them* IN THE WILDERNESS †. And again,—*I lifted up my hand unto them also* IN THE WILDERNESS ‡. "Here (says the learned Doctor) the prophet may "SEEM TO HINT, that God's anger against the Chil-"dren was *while they were in the wilderness.*" p. 169.

May seem to hint! The Doctor must be immoderately fond of precise expression, when he esteems this to be no more than a *hint* or doubtful intimation.

But MOSES having omitted to tell us, that these Children did indeed play these pranks *in the Wilderness*, he will not take a later Prophet's word for it. *As Moses* (says the Doctor) *wrote before Ezekiel prophesied; his prophecy could not alter facts.* It will be more than the Doctor deserves, if the Freethinker neglects to reply, that both the Prophet and the Doctor here *seem to hint*; the former, *that God's anger against the Children was while they were in the wilderness*; the latter, that Moses and Ezekiel contradict one another. But to let this pass.—*Prophecy*, he says, *could not alter facts*; by which he means that Prophecy, any more than the author of Prophecy, could not make that to be undone which was already done. Who ever thought it could? But might not Ezekiel's Prophecy explain

* Ver. 18, 19, 20. † Ver. 21. ‡ Ver. 23.

facts,

facts, and relate them too, which a former Prophet had omitted? However, Ezekiel is not the only one who informs us of this fact. AMOS upbraids these sojourners *in the wilderness* with a still more general apostasy, "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings IN "THE WILDERNESS forty years, O house of Israel? "But ye have born the tabernacle of your Moloch and "Chiun, your images, the Star of your God, which ye "made to yourselves *." Now if the Israelites committed idolatry all the time they sojourned in the Wilderness, the crime necessarily included the CHILDREN with the *Fathers*.

The Doctor's second expedient to evade the determinate evidence of the text is as ridiculous as the first is extravagant. The text says,—*I will pour out my fury upon them to accomplish mine anger against them* IN THE WILDERNESS.—"These words, *in the wilderness*, "(says the acute Expositor) do not hint the place where "the *anger* was to be *accomplished*, but rather refer to "*anger*, and suggest the *anger* to be, as if we might "almost say in English, the WILDERNESS-ANGER." p. 171.—If the Doctor's Rhetoric is to be enriched with this new phrase, I think his Logic should not be denied the benefit of a like acquisition, of which it will have frequent use, and that is, WILDERNESS-REASONING. And so much for this learned solution.

But the absurdity of supposing with these men, that the words, *I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*, might signify, their *taking* (without *giving*) *Baal and Ashteroth for their Gods*, (p. 163.) is best exposed by the Prophet himself, as his words lie in the text. Consider then the case of these Rebels. God's first intention (as in the other case of their Fathers' rebellion) is represented to be the renouncing them for his people, and scattering them amongst the nations. *Then I said I would pour out my fury upon them to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness* †. But his mercy prevails—*Nevertheless I withdrew mine hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted in the sight of the Heathen, in whose sight I brought them forth* ‡.

* Chap. v. ver. 25, 26. † Ver. 21. ‡ Ver. 22.

In these two verses, we see, that the punishment intended, and the mercy shewn, are delivered in general; without the circumstances of the punishment, or the conditions of the mercy. The three following verses, in the mode of the eastern composition, which delights in repetition, informs us more particularly of these *circumstances*, which were DISPERSION, &c. and of these *conditions*, which were the imposition of a *Ritual Law*—*I lifted up my hand unto them also in the wilderness, that I would* SCATTER THEM *amongst the heathen, and* DISPERSE THEM *through the countries; because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my Sabbaths, and their eyes were after their Fathers' idols* *. Here, the intended punishment is explained specifically, that is, with its circumstances.—The mercy follows; and the terms, on which it was bestowed, are likewise explained—*Wherefore I gave them also Statutes that were* NOT GOOD, *and Judgments whereby they should* NOT LIVE †. And now the beggarly shifts of the new interpretation appear in all their nakedness. Whatever is meant by *statutes not good*, the end of giving them, we see, was to preserve them a peculiar people to the Lord; for the punishment of dispersion was remitted to them. But if by *statutes not good* be meant the permitting them to fall into Idolatries, God is absurdly represented as decreeing an *end* (the keeping his people separate); and at the same time providing *means* to defeat it: For every lapse into idolatry was a step to their dispersion and *utter consumption*, by absorbing them into the Nations. We must needs conclude therefore, that, by STATUTES NOT GOOD is meant the RITUAL LAW, the only means of attaining that end of mercy, The preserving them a separate people.

Who now can chuse but smile to hear our learned Expositor quoting these words of the book of Judges,—*The* CHILDREN *of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and followed other Gods, of the Gods of the people that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger, and served Baal and Ashtaroth* ‡; and then gravely adding,—" So that here the scene opens which

* Ver. 23, 24. † Ver. 25. ‡ Cap. ii. ver. 11, 12, 13.

" Ezekiel

" Ezekiel alludes to; and accordingly, what Ezekiel " mentions as the punishment of these wickednesses began " now to come upon them." p. 163.

However, it must be owned, that if words alone could shake the solidity of the interpretation I have here given, these which immediately follow the contested passage of *statutes not good*, would be enough to alarm us—*And I polluted them* (says the text) *in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord**. The common interpretation of which is this: " I permitted them to fall " into that wicked inhumanity, whereby they were pol- " luted and contaminated, in making their Children to " pass through the fire to Moloch, in order to root them " out and utterly to destroy them."

Dr. Spencer (who follows the general sense of the prophesy which I have here explained and supported) appeared but too sensible how much this text stood in his way. He endeavours therefore to shew, that " it relates " to God's rejecting the first-born of the Israelites from " the priesthood, and appointing the tribe of Levi to " the sacred office in their stead:" and that, therefore, the verse should be rendered thus, *I pronounced them polluted in their gifts* [i. e. unfit to offer me any oblation], *in that I passed by all that openeth the womb* [i. e. the first-born] *in order to humble them, that they might know that I am the Lord.* And this rendering may be the right, for any thing Dr. Shuckford has to oppose to the contrary (pp. 168, 169); the main of which is, what has been already confuted, (or rather, what the very terms, in which the assertion is advanced, do themselves confute) namely, that *the Children in the wilderness* were not the immediate issue of those who died *in the wilderness*, but a remote posterity. As for his Hebrew criticism, that the word *maas*, and not *nabar*, would probably have been used by the Prophet, if *rejecting from the priesthood* had been the sense intended by him, (p. 169) this is the slenderest of all reasoning, even though it had been applied to a Rhetorician by profession, and in a language very copious, and perfectly well under-

* Ver. 26.

stood: How evanid is it therefore, when applied to a Prophet under the impulse of inspiration, and speaking in the most scanty of all languages; the small knowledge of which is to be got from one single volume of no large bulk, and conveyed in a mode of writing subject to perpetual equivocations and ambiguities! From the mischiefs of which, God in his good providence preserved us by the Septuagint Translation, made while the Hebrew was a living language, and afterwards authenticated by the recognition of the inspired writers of the New Testament.

However, the truth is, that this explanation of the learned Spencer must appear forced, even though we had no better to oppose to it: But when there is a better at hand, which not only takes off all the countenance which this 26th verse affords to Dr. Shuckford's interpretation of *statutes not good*, but so exactly quadrates with the sense here given, that it completes and perfects the narrative, we shall be no longer frighted with its formidable look.

To understand then what it aims at, we must consider the context as it has been explained above. The 21st and 22d verses (it hath been shewn) contain God's purposes of *judgment* and of *mercy* in general. The 23d, 24th, and 25th, explain in what the intended *judgment* would have consisted, and how the prevailing *mercy* was qualified. The Israelites were to be pardoned; but to be kept under, by the yoke of a ritual Law, described only in general by the title of *statutes not good*. The 26th verse opens the matter still further, and explains the nature and genius of that yoke, together with its effects, both salutary and baleful. The *salutary*, as it was a barrier to idolatry, the most enormous species of which was that of *causing their children to pass through the fire to Moloch*: the *baleful*, as it brought on their *desolation* when they became deprived of the Temple-worship. But to be more particular—*I polluted them in their own gifts*. By *gifts* I understand that homage (universally expressed, in the ancient world, by Rites of sacrifice) which a People owed to their God. And how were these *gifts polluted?* By a multifarious Ritual, which, being opposed to the idolatries of the

Nations, was prescribed in reference to those idolatries; and, consequently, was incumbered with a thousand Ceremonies, respecting the choice of the animal; the qualities and purifications of the Sacrificers; and the direction and efficacy of each specific Offering. This account of their *pollution*, by such a Ritual, exactly answers to the character given of that Ritual, [*statutes not good, &c.*] in the text in question. Then follows the reason of God's thus *polluting them in their own gifts —in that* [or, because that] *they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb*—i. e. the *polluting* Ritual was imposed as a PUNISHMENT FOR, as well as BARRIER TO, their idolatries; characterized under this most enormous and horrid of them all, the causing of their children *to pass through the fire to Moloch*. Then follows the humiliating circumstance of this ritual yoke, *—that I might make them desolate*, i. e. that they should, even from the nature of that Ritual, be deprived, when they most wanted it, of their nearest intercourse with their God and King. A real state of *desolation!* To understand which, we are to consider, that at the time this Prophesy was delivered, the Jews, by their accumulated iniquities, were accelerating, what doubtless the Prophet had then in his eye, their punishment of the seventy years Captivity. Now, by the peculiar Constitution of the ritual Law, their Religion became, as it were, local; it being unlawful to offer sacrifice but in the temple of Jerusalem only. So that when they were led captive into a foreign land, the most solemn and essential intercourse between God and them *(the morning and evening sacrifice)* was entirely cut off: and thus, by means of the ritual Law, they were emphatically said to be *made desolate*. The verse concludes in telling us, for what end this punishment was inflicted—*that they might know that I am the Lord*. How would this appear from the premisses? Very evidently. For if, while they were in Captivity, they were under an interdict, and their Religion in a state of Suspension, and yet that they were to continue God's select people (for the scope of the whole Prophecy is to shew, that, notwithstanding all their provocations, God still *worked for his name's sake)*, then, in order to be restored to their Religion,

they were to be reinstated in their own Land: which work, Prophecy always describes as the utmost manifestation of God's power. Their redemption from the *Assyrian* captivity particularly, being frequently compared, by the Prophets, to that of the *Egyptian*. From hence therefore all men *might know* and collect, that the God of Israel *was the Lord*.

This famous text then, we see, may be thus aptly paraphrased—*And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord*; i. e. "I loaded the religious Worship due to me, as their God and King, with a number of operose Ceremonies, to punish their past, and to oppose to their future, idolatries; the most abominable of which was their making their children to pass through the fire to Moloch: And further, that I might have the Ceremonial Law always at hand as an instrument for still more severe punishments, when the full measure of their iniquities should bring them into Captivity in a strange land, I so contrived, by the very constitution of their Religion, that it should then remain under an interdict, and all stated intercourse be cut off between me and them; From which evil, would necessarily arise this advantage, an occasion to manifest my power to the Gentiles, in bringing my People again, after a due time of penance, into their own land."

Here we see, the text, thus expounded, connects and completes the whole narrative, concerning the imposition of the ritual Law, and its nature and consequences, from the 21st to the 26th verse inclusively: and opens the history of it by due degrees, which the most just and elegant compositions require. We are first informed of the threatened judgment, and of the prevailing mercy in general:—we are then told the specific nature of that judgment, and the circumstance attending the accorded mercy;—and lastly, the Prophet explains the nature and genius of that attendant circumstance; together with its adverse as well as benignant effects.

I have now deprived the CONNECTER of all his arguments but one, for this strange interpretation of *statutes*

not

not good; and that one is, "That the worshippers of *Baal* and *Ashteroth*, in the book of Judges, and the slaves to *statutes not good* in the prophet Ezekiel, having the common name of CHILDREN, must needs be the same individuals:" But this I make a conscience of taking from him.

Yet such confidence has the learned person in his goodly exposition, that he concludes his reasoning against the obvious sense of the Prophecy, in this extraordinary manner—"Dr. Spencer imagined, this text alone was "sufficient to support his hypothesis: but I cannot but "think, if what has been offered be fairly considered, "NO HONEST WRITER can ever cite it again for that "purpose." p. 167.

What is Dr. Spencer's hypothesis? Just this and no other, that *Moses gave the ritual Law to the Jews because of the hardness of their hearts* *; the very Hypothesis of Jesus Christ himself.

But the CONNECTER thinks, that, *if what he has offered be fairly considered,* NO HONEST WRITER *can ever cite it again for that purpose.* This smells strong of the Bigot. One can hardly think one's self in the closet of a learned and sober Divine; but rather in some wild Conventicle of Methodists or Hutchinsonians; whose criticisms are all Revelations: which, though you cannot embrace, but at the expence of COMMON SENSE, you are not allowed to question without renouncing COMMON HONESTY.

I have *fairly considered* (as the *Connecter* expects his Reader should do) *what he has offered against Dr. Spencer's hypothesis*; and if there be any truth in the conclusions of human reason, I think a writer may go on very advantageously, as well as with a good conscience, to defend *that Hypothesis.* How such a writer shall be qualified by Bigots, is another point. Many an HONEST MAN, I am persuaded, will still adhere to Dr. *Shuckford's hypothesis*; and with the same good faith, with which he himself supported it: for though his charity will not allow that title to those who dissent from him, yet God forbid, that I should not give it to Him.

But it is now time to proceed to the *third period* of

* Matt. xix. 8.

THIS

THIS Prophecy. For the principal design of this Work is to vindicate and illustrate sacred Scripture, though in my progress I be still obliged, from time to time, to stop a little, while I remove the most material obstructions which lie in my way.

This Prophecy hitherto contains a declaration of the various punishments inflicted on the rebellious Israelites, from the time of Moses's mission to the preaching of Ezekiel. We have shewn that their punishment in the first period, was *death in the wilderness*: their punishment in the second period, was *the fastening on their necks the yoke of the ritual Law*.

Their punishment in the *third period* is now to be considered: and we shall see that it consisted in rendering the yoke of the ritual Law still more galling, by withdrawing from them that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, which once rewarded the studious observers of it, with many temporal blessings. The punishment was dreadful: and such, indeed, the Prophet describes it to have been. But we may be assured, their crimes deserved it, as having risen in proportion with it; and this likewise, he tells us, was the case. Their idolatries were at first, and so, for some time, they continued to be, the mixing Pagan worship with the worship of the God of Israel. But though they had so often smarted for this folly, they were yet so besotted with the Gods of the nations, *the stocks and stones of the high places*, that their last progress in impiety was the project of casting off the God of Israel entirely, at least as their TUTELAR God, and of mixing themselves amongst the Nations. They had experienced, that the *God of Israel* was a JEALOUS GOD, who would not share his glory with another; and they hoped to avoid his wrath by renouncing their Covenant with him, and leaving him at liberty to chuse another people. To such a degree of impiety and madness was this devoted Nation arrived, when Ezekiel prophesied at the eve of their approaching Captivity. All this will be made plain, by what follows.

We have seen their behaviour in the two former periods; in EGYPT, and in the WILDERNESS. The third begins with a description of their Manners when they had taken possession of the land of CANAAN.

Ver. 27.

Ver. 27. "Son of man, speak unto the house of Is-
" rael, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God;
" Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, in that
" they have committed a trespass against me.

28. "For when I had brought them into the land,
" for the which I lifted up my hand to give it to them,
" then they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees,
" and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they
" presented the provocation of their offering."

This was their continual practice, even to the delivery of this Prophecy; at which time, their enormities were come to the height, we just mentioned; to contrive in their hearts to renounce the God of Israel, altogether. But being surrounded with calamities, and a powerful enemy at their door, they were willing to procure a present relief from him, whom they had so much offended; though at this very instant, they were projecting to offend still more. The singular impudence of this conduct was, apparently, the immediate occasion of this famous Prophecy; as we shall now see.

Ver. 30. "Wherefore say unto the house of Israel,
" Thus saith the Lord God; Are ye polluted after the
" manner of your fathers? and commit ye whoredom
" after their abominations?

31. "For when ye offer your gifts, when ye make
" your sons to pass through the fire; ye pollute your-
" selves with all your idols EVEN TO THIS DAY: and
" shall I be enquired of by you, O house of Israel?
" As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not be enquired
" of by you."

That this recourse to the God of their Fathers was only a momentary impulse, arising from their pressing necessities, is evident from what immediately follows; the mention of that specific crime which brought upon them the punishment annexed to the third period.—

Ver. 32. "AND THAT WHICH COMETH INTO YOUR
" MIND, SHALL NOT BE AT ALL, THAT YE SAY, WE
" WILL BE AS THE HEATHEN, AS THE FAMILIES OF
" THE COUNTRIES, TO SERVE WOOD AND STONE.

33. "As I live, saith the Lord God, Surely with a
" mighty hand, and with a stretched-out arm, AND
" WITH FURY POURED OUT, WILL I RULE OVER YOU.

34. "AND

34. "AND I WILL BRING YOU OUT FROM THE PEO-
" PLE, AND WILL GATHER YOU OUT OF THE COUN-
" TRIES WHEREIN YE ARE SCATTERED, with a mighty
" hand, and with a stretched-out arm, AND WITH
" FURY POURED OUT.

35. "And I will bring you into the WILDERNESS OF
" THE PEOPLE, and there will I plead with you face
" to face.

36. "Like as I pleaded with your fathers in the *wil-*
" *derness* of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you
" face to face."

By all this it appears, that the Jews of this time were little anxious to *avoid* their approaching Captivity, denounced and threatened by all their Prophets. What they wanted was a light and easy servitude, which might enable them to mingle with, and at last to be lost amongst the Nations; like the Ten Tribes which had gone before them. Against the vileness of these hopes is this part of the Prophecy directed. God assures them, he will bring them out of the *Assyrian* Captivity, as he had done out of the *Egyptian*; but not in mercy, as that deliverance was procured, but in judgment, and *with fury poured out*. And as he had brought their Fathers into the *wilderness of the land* of Egypt, so would he bring them into the WILDERNESS OF THE PEOPLE, that is, the land of Canaan, which they would find, on their return to it, was become desart and uninhabited: and therefore elegantly called, the *wilderness of the people*. But what now was to be their reception, on their second possession of the promised Land? a very different welcome from the first. God indeed leads them here again with a *mighty hand and a stretched-out arm*; and it was to take possession; but not, as at first, of a *land flowing with milk and honey*, but of a prison, a house of correction where they were to pass under the rod, and to remain in bonds.

Ver. 37. "AND I WILL CAUSE YOU (says God) TO
" PASS UNDER THE ROD, AND I WILL BRING YOU
" INTO THE BOND OF THE COVENANT."

Words which strongly and elegantly express subjection to a ritual Law, after the extraordinary Providence, which so much alleviated the yoke of it, was withdrawn:

And

And we find it withdrawn soon after their return from the Captivity.—But, the Prophecy, carrying on the comparison to the Egyptian deliverance, adds—

Ver. 38. "And I will purge out from amongst you "the Rebels, and them that transgress against me: I "will bring them forth out of the country where they "sojourn, and they shall not enter into the land of "Israel."

These *Rebels*, like their FATHERS *in the wilderness*, were indeed to be brought out of Captivity, but were never to enjoy the promised Land; and the rest, like the CHILDREN *in the wilderness*, were to have the yoke of the ritual Law still made more galling. And thus the COMPARISON is completed.

These were the three different punishments inflicted in these three different periods. The first PERSONAL; the second and the third, NATIONAL; only the third made heavier than the second, in proportion to their accumulated offences.

But as, in the height of God's vengeance on the sins of this wretched people, the distant prospect always terminated in a mercy; So, with a mercy, and a promise of better times, the whole of this prophetic Scene is closed; in order that the NATION to which it is addressed, should, however criminal they were, not be left in an utter state of desperation, but be afforded some shadow of repose, in the prospect of future peace and tranquillity. For now, turning again to these *temporary Inquirers* after God, the Prophecy addresses them, in this manner:

Ver. 39. "As for you, O house of Israel, thus saith "the Lord God; Go ye, serve ye every one his idols, "and hereafter also, if ye will not hearken unto me: "But pollute you my holy name no more with your "gifts, and with your idols."

As much as to say, Go on no longer in this divided worship; halt no more between two opinions; if Baal be your God, serve him; if the God of Israel, then serve him only. The reason follows:

Ver. 40—43. "*For in mine holy mountain—there* "*shall all the house of Israel—serve me. There will* "*I accept them, and there will I require your offer-* "*ings—with all your holy things—and there shall ye*

"*remember*

" *remember your ways, and all your doings wherein ye* " *have been defiled.* AND YE SHALL LOTHE YOUR- " SELVES IN YOUR OWN SIGHT."—i. e. " For then, a new order of things shall commence. My people, after their return from the Captivity, shall be as averse to idolatry, as till then they were prone and disposed to it: and the memory of their former follies shall *make them lothe themselves* in their own sight." And this, indeed, was the fact, as we learn by their whole history, from their restoration to their own Land, quite down to the present hour.

The idea of MERCY is naturally attached to that of repentance and reformation; and with MERCY the Prophecy concludes.

Ver. 44 " *And ye shall know that I am the Lord,* " *when I have wrought with you for my name's sake,* " *not according to your wicked ways, nor according to* " *your corrupt doings, O ye house of Israel, saith the* " *Lord God.*"

The Reader hath now a full explanation of the whole Prophecy: whereby he may understand how justly it hath acquired its eminent celebrity. Its general subject being no less than the Fate and Fortunes of the Jewish Republic; of which the several parts are so important, so judiciously chosen, so elegantly disposed, and so nobly enounced, that we see the divinity of the original in every step we take.

But to return to the peculiar purpose of this Comment. Which is given to shew, that God himself has delivered the ritual Law of the Jews, under the character of *Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live**.

The use I would make of it against WITSIUS, with whom I have been concerned, is to shew, that if such be the genius of the ritual Law, it is no wonder it should have, in its composition, an alloy of no better materials, than Egyptian and other Pagan Ceremonies; cleansed indeed and refined from their immoralities and superstitions: And conversely, that a composition of such an alloy was very aptly characterized by *Statutes not good, and Judgments whereby they could not live.*

* See note [BBBBB] at the end of this Book.

Thus

Thus having before seen what little force there was in Witsius's arguments, and now understanding how little reason he had to be so tenacious of his opinion; the reader may think he scarce merited the distinction of being recommended to a learned Body as the very bulwark of the faith, in this matter. But let what will become of his arguments, he deserves honour for a much better thing than orthodox disputation: I mean, for an honest turn of mind, averse to imputing odious designs to his adversaries, or dangerous consequences to their opinions*.

On the whole then, we conclude, both against DEIST and BELIEVER, that the Ritual Law's being made in reference to Egyptian superstition is no reasonable objection to the divinity of its original.

But the Deist may object, "That though indeed, when the Israelites were once deeply infected with that superstition, such a ritual might be necessary to stop and cure a growing evil; yet as the remedy was so multiplex, burdensome, and slavish, and therefore not in itself eligible, how happened it, that GOD, who had this family under his immediate and peculiar care, should suffer them to contract an infection which required so inconvenient and impure a remedy?

I have been so accustomed to find the strongest objections of infidelity end in the stronger recommendation of revealed Religion, that I have never been backward, either to produce what they have said, when they write their best, or to imagine what they would say, if they knew how to write better. To this therefore I reply, That the promise GOD had made to Abraham, to give his posterity the land of Canaan, could not be performed till that Family was grown strong enough to take and keep possession of it. In the mean time, therefore, they were necessitated to reside amongst idolaters. And we have seen, although they resided unmixed, how violent a propensity they ever had to join themselves to the Gentile Nations, and to practise their Manners. GOD, therefore, in his infinite wisdom brought them into Egypt, and kept them there during this period; the

* See note [CCCCC] at the end of this Book.

only place where they could remain, for so long a time, safe and unconfounded with the natives; the ancient Egyptians being, by numerous institutions, forbidden all fellowship with strangers; and bearing, besides, a particular aversion to the profession* of this Family. Thus we see, that the natural disposition of the Israelites, which, in Egypt, occasioned their superstitions; and, in consequence, the necessity of a burthensome Ritual, would, in any other Country, have absorbed them in Gentilism, and confounded them with Idolaters. From this objection, therefore, nothing comes but a new occasion to adore the footsteps of eternal Wisdom in his Dispensations to his chosen People.

III.

The last proposition is, *That the very circumstances of Moses's Egyptian learning, and the Laws instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, are a strong confirmation of the divinity of his mission.*

EGYPT was the great School of legislation for the rest of Mankind. And so revered were her oracular dictates, that foreign Lawgivers, who went thither for instruction, never ventured to deviate from those fundamental principles of Government which she prescribed. In RELIGION, particularly, which always made a part of civil Policy, they so closely adhered to Egyptian maxims, that Posterity, as we have seen, were deceived into an opinion that the Greek Lawgivers had received their very Gods from thence.

What therefore must we think had been the case of a Native of Egypt; bred up from his infancy in Egyptian wisdom, and, at length, become a member of their Legislative body? would such a man, when going to frame a civil Policy and Religion (though we suppose nothing of that natural affection, which the best and wisest men have ever borne for their own country institutions), be at all inclined to deviate from its fundamental principles of Government?

Yet here we have in Moses, according to our Adversaries' account of him, a mere human Lawgiver, come

* The profession of Shepherds.

fresh

fresh out of the Schools of Egypt, to reduce a turbulent People into Society, acting on fundamental Principles of Religion and Policy directly opposite to all the maxims of Egyptian Wisdom.

One of the chief of which, in the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was, That the government of the World had, by the supreme Ruler of the universe, been committed into the hands of subordinate, local, tutelary Deities; amongst whom the several Regions of the earth were shared out and divided: that these were the true and proper objects of all public and popular religion; and that the knowledge of the ONE TRUE GOD, the Creator of all things, was highly dangerous to be communicated to the People; but was to be secreted, and shut up in their MYSTERIES; and in them, to be revealed only occasionally, and to a few; and those few, the wise, the learned, and ruling part of mankind *. Now, in plain defiance and contempt of this most venerable Principle, our Egyptian Lawgiver rejects these doctrines of inferior Deities, as impostures, and *lying vanities*; and boldly and openly preaches up to the People, the belief of the ONE TRUE GOD, the Creator, as the sole object of the Religion of all mankind †.

Another fundamental maxim, the RELIGIOUS POLICY of Egypt, was to propagate, by every kind of method, the doctrine of A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS; as the necessary support of all Religion and Government. Here again, our Lawgiver (no Deist can tell why ‡) forsakes all his own principles; intentionally rejects a support, which was as really beneficial to mankind, in all his interests, as the other notion, of inferior Deities, was but thought to be; intirely omits to mention it in his Institutes of Law and Religion; and is studiously silent in all those particulars which lead to the propagation of it ‖. But of this, more at large, in a future volume.

Again, it was of the CIVIL POLICY of Egypt to pre-

* See an account of these MYSTERIES in the Second Volume.
† See note [DDDDD] at the end of this Book.
‡ See *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*, Vol. xii. Letter IV.
‖ See note [EEEEE] at the end of this Book.

fer an hereditary despotic Monarchy to all other forms of Government: Moses, on the contrary, erects a THEOCRACY on the free choice of the people; to be administered Aristocratically.

Add to all this, that his deviation from the Policy of Egypt was encountering the strongest prejudices of his People; who were violently carried away to all the customs and superstitions of that Policy.

And now let an ingenuous Deist weigh these instances, with many more that will easily occur to him, and then fairly tell us his sentiments. Let him try, if he can think it was at all likely, that Moses, a mere human Lawgiver, a Native of Egypt, and learned in all its political Wisdom, should, in the formation of a Civil policy, for such a People as he undertook to govern, act directly contrary to all the fundamental principles in which he had been instructed?

I. To this perhaps it may be said,—"That Moses well understood the folly and falsehood of inferior GODS: —that he did not believe the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments;—that he was too honest to employ fraud:—that his love to his People made him indisposed to an hereditary despotic Monarchy;—and that the theologic principles of Egypt led him to the invention of a THEOCRACY." To all this, I answer,

1. As to *his seeing the falsehood of inferior Gods.*—So did many other of the old Lawgivers, instructed in Egyptian policy; yet being taught to think Polytheism useful to Society, they did not, for all that, the less cultivate their abominable idolatry.

2. As to *his not believing a future state, and his honesty in not teaching what he did not believe.*—Such Objectors forget that they have already made him a fraudulent impostor, in his pretension to a divine employment. Now if the end of civil Government made him fraudulent in that instance, it would hardly suffer him to be scrupulous in this; even allowing the extravagance of this fancy, that he *did not believe* a future state; because, as hath been proved at large*, the propagation of this doctrine is, and was always believed to

* See the first three volumes.

be,

be, the firmest support of civil government: But of this more at large, hereafter.

3. With regard to *his concern for the happiness of his people*;—I will readily allow this to be very consistent with Heroic or Legislative fraud. But this happiness the ancient Lawgivers thought best procured by the Egyptian mode of Government. And indeed they had EXPERIENCE, the best guide in public matters. For the excellent education which the Egyptians gave their Kings, in training them up to the love of the Public, and high veneration for the Laws, prevented the usual abuse of power; and gave to that people the longest and most uninterrupted course of prosperity that any Nation ever enjoyed*. It is no wonder, therefore, that this should make MONARCHY (as it did) the first favourite form of Government, in all places civilized by the aid of Egypt.

4. But, *the theologic principles of Egypt led Moses to the invention of a* THEOCRACY.—Without doubt those principles, as we shall see hereafter, occasioned its easy reception amongst the Hebrews. But there is one circumstance in the case that shews its invention must have been of GOD, and not of Moses. For the ground of its easy reception was the notion of local tutelary Deities. But this notion, Moses, in preaching up the doctrine of the one true GOD, entirely took away. This, indeed, on a supposition of a DIVINE LEGATION, has all the marks of admirable wisdom; but supposing it to be Moses's own contrivance, we see nothing but inconsistency and absurdity. He forms a design, and then defeats it; he gives with one hand, and he takes away with the other.

II. But it may be farther objected,—"That, as it was the intention of Moses to separate these people from all others, he therefore gave them those cross and opposite institutions, as a barrier to all communication." To this I answer,

1. That were it indeed GOD, and not Moses, who projected this SEPARATION, the reason would be good. Because the immediate end of GOD's *separation* was

* See note [FFFFF] at the end of this Book.

twofold, to keep them unmixed; and to secure them from idolatry: and such end could not be effected but by opposing those fundamental principles of Egypt, with the doctrine of ONE GOD, and the institution of a THEOCRACY. But then this, which would be a good reason, will become a very bad objection. Our Deist is to be held to the question. He regards Moses as a mere human Lawgiver. But the sole end which such a one could propose by a *separation*, was to preserve his people pure and unmixed. Now this could be effected only by laws which kept them at home, and discouraged and prevented all foreign commerce: and these, by the same means, bringing on general poverty, there would be small danger of their being much frequented, while they laboured under that contagious malady. This we know was the case of Sparta. It was their Lawgiver's chief aim to keep them distinct and unmixed. But did he do this by institutions which crossed the fundamental principles of the Religion and Policy of Greece? By no means. They were all of them the same. The method he employed was only to frame such Laws as discouraged commerce and foreign intercourse. And these proved effectual. I the rather instance in the Spartan, than in any other Government, because the end, which Moses and Lycurgus pursued in common, (though for different purposes) of keeping their people *separate*, occasioned such a likeness in several parts of the two Institutions, as was, in my opinion, the real origin of that tradition mentioned in the first book of Maccabees, That there was a Family-relation between the two People.

2. But, secondly, as it is very true, that the mere intention of keeping a people separate and unmixed (which is all a human Lawgiver could have in view) would occasion Laws in opposition to the customs of those people with whom, from their vicinity to, or fondness for, they were in most danger of being confounded; so, when I insisted on those Anti-Egyptian institutions, which I gave as a certain proof of Moses's *Divine Legation*, I did not reckon, in my account, any of that vast number of ritual and municipal laws, which, Ma-

netho

netho confesses, were *given principally in opposition to Egyptian customs**. This a mere separation would require: But this is a very different thing from the opposition to FUNDAMENTALS, here insisted on; which a mere separation did not in the least require.

III. But it may be still further urged, "That resentment for ill usage might dispose Moses to obliterate the memory of the place they came from, by a Policy contrary to the *fundamental* Institutions of Egypt." Here again our objecting Deist will forget himself. 1. He hath urged a CONFORMITY in the LAW to Egyptian Rites; and this, in order to discredit Moses's *Divine Legation:* and we have allowed him his fact. Whatever it was therefore that engaged Moses to his general OPPOSITION, it could not be resentment: for that had certainly prevented all kind of conformity or similitude.

2. But, secondly, such effects of civil resentment, the natural manners of men will never suffer us to suppose. We have in ancient history many accounts of the settlement of new Colonies, forced injuriously from home by their fellow-citizens. But we never find that this imbittered them against their Country-institutions. On the contrary, their close adherence to their native customs, notwithstanding all personal wrongs, has in every age enabled learned men to find out their original, by strong characteristic marks of relation to the mother city. And the reason is evident: INNATE LOVE OF ONE'S COUNTRY, whose attractive power, contrary to that of natural bodies, is strongest at a distance; and INVETERATE MANNERS which stick closest in distress (the usual state of all new Colonies) are qualities infinitely too strong to give way to resentment against particular men for personal injuries.

It is not indeed unlikely but that some certain specific Law or custom, which did, or was imagined to contribute to their disgrace and expulsion, might, out of resentment, be reprobated by the new Colony. And this

* Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο, μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεὰς, μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τιμωμένων ἱερῶν ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενὸς, σφάττειν τε θύειν τε ἀναλεῖν· συναπτέσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας τε πολλὰ ἄλλα, μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιώμενα. Apud Joseph. cont. Ap. l. i. p. 460, 461. Haverch. Ed.

is the utmost that the history of mankind will suffer us to suppose.

On the whole, therefore, I conclude that MOSES'S EGYPTIAN LEARNING IS A STRONG CONFIRMATION OF THE DIVINITY OF HIS MISSION.

The second part of the proposition is no less evident, *That the laws instituted in compliance to the people's prejudices, and in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, support the same truth with equal strength.* Had Moses's Mission been only pretended, his conduct, as a wise Lawgiver, had doubtless been very different. His business had been then only to support a false pretence to inspiration. Let us see how he managed. He pretended to receive the whole frame of a national Institution from GOD; and to have had the pattern of all its parts brought him down from Heaven, to the Mount. But when this came to be promulged, it was seen that, the CEREMONIAL LAW being politically instituted, partly in compliance to the people's prejudices, and partly in opposition to Egyptian superstitions, several of its Rites had a reference to the Pagan superstitions in vogue. This, as we see, from the objection of the ignorant in these times, might have been an objection in those. And as an Impostor could not have foreseen the objection, his fears of a discovery would have made him decline so hazardous a system, and cautiously avoid every thing that looked like an imitation. It is true, that, on enquiry, this unfolds a scene of admirable and superior wisdom: but it is such as an Impostor could never have projected; or at least would never have ventured to leave to the mercy of popular judgment. We conclude, therefore, that this conduct is a clear proof that Moses actually received the Institution from GOD. Nor does this in anywise contradict what we have so much insisted on above, That a mere human Lawgiver, or even an inspired one, acting with free agents, is necessitated to comply with the passions of the People; a compliance which would necessarily induce such a relation to Egypt as we find in the ritual Law: for we must remember too what hath been likewise shewn, that the *ends* of a divine and human Lawgiver, both using the common means of A SEPARATION, are vastly different; the latter only aiming

aiming to keep the people unmixed; the former, to keep them pure from idolatry. Now, in both cases, where the People are dealt with as free agents, some compliance to their prejudices will be necessary. But as, in the Institutions of a human Lawgiver pretending only to inspiration, such compliance in the RITUAL would be subject to the danger here spoken of; and as compliance in the FUNDAMENTALS, such as the object of Worship, a future State, and mode of civil Government, would not be so subject; and, at the same time, would win most forcibly on a prejudiced people, to the promoting the Legislator's *end*; we must needs conclude that these would be the things he would comply with and espouse. On the other hand, as a divine Lawgiver could not comply in these things; and as a RITUAL, like the Mosaic, was the only means left of gaining his end; we must conclude that a divine Lawgiver would make his compliance on that side.

1. Let me only add one corollary to our BELIEVING ADVERSARIES, as a farther support of this part of the *proposition*; "That allowing the Ritual-law to be generally instituted in reference to Egyptian and other neighbouring Superstitions, the divine wisdom of the contrivance will be seen in redoubled lustre. One reason, as we have seen above, of the opposition to the notion of *such a reference* is, that the RITUAL LAW WAS TYPICAL, not only of things relating to that Dispensation, but to the Evangelical. This then they take for granted; and, as will be shewn hereafter, with good reason. Now an Institution of a body of Rites, particularly and minutely levelled against, and referring to, the idolatrous practices of those ages; and, at the same time, as minutely typical, not only of all the remarkable transactions under that Dispensation, but likewise of all the great and constituent parts of a future one, to arise in a distant age, and of a genius directly opposite, must needs give an attentive considerer the most amazing idea of divine wisdom *. And this I beg leave to offer to the consideration

* Hear what the learned Spencer says on this occasion: "Atque "hac in re Deus sapientiæ suæ specimen egregium edidit, et illi non "absimile quod in mundo frequenter observamus: in eo enim, "notante *Verulamio*, dum *natura aliud agit, providentia aliud elicit*; "nam

deration of the unprejudiced Reader, as another strong INTERNAL ARGUMENT THAT THE RITUAL LAW WAS NOT OF MERE HUMAN CONTRIVANCE.

2. Let me add another corollary to the UNBELIEVING JEWS. We have seen at large how expedient it was for the Jews of the first ages, that the Ritual or ceremonial Law should be directed against the several idolatries of those ages. It was as expedient for the Jews of the later ages that this Law should be TYPICAL likewise. For had it not been *typical*, God would have given a Law whose reason would have ceased many ages before the *Theocracy* was abolished: and so have afforded a plausible occasion to the Jews for changing or abrogating them, on their own head.

3. Let me add a third corollary to the UNBELIEVING GENTILES. The Law's being *typical* obviates their foolish argument against Revelation, that the abolition of the *Mosaic* religion and the establishment of the *Christian* in its stead, impeaches the wisdom of God, as implying change and inconstancy in his acting; for by his making the Law *typical*, the two religions are seen to be the two parts of one and the same design.

The great Maimonides, who first * explained the CAUSES of the Jewish Ritual in any reasonable manner (and who, to observe it by the way, saw nothing in the LAW but *temporal sanctions*), was so struck with the splendour of divinity, which this light reflected back upon the law, that in the entry on his subject he breaks out into this triumphant boast, EA TIBI EXPLICABO UT PLANE NON AMPLIUS DUBITARE QUEAS ET DIFFERENTIAM HABEAS QUA DISCERNERE POSSIS INTER ORDINATIONES

" nam frondibus quas natura, consuetudinem suam retinens, parit, " utitur providentia ad cœli injurias a fructu tenello propulsandas. " Pari modo, cum Hebræorum natio, consuetudinem suam exuere " nescia, ritus antiquos impense desideraret. Deus eorum desiderio " se morigerum præbebat; sed eorum ruditate & impotentia puerili " ad fines egregios & sapientia sua dignos utebatur. Sic enim ritus " antiquos populo indultos, circumstantiis quibusdam demptis aut " additis, immutavit, ut rerum cœlestium schema repræsentarent, " oculis purgatioribus facile percipiendum; adeo ut Deus pœrilibus " Israelitarum studiis obsequens, divina promoveret." De Leg. Heb. Rit. p. 218.

* In his More Nevoch. Par. III.—And see note [GGGGG] at the end of this Boo

NATIONES LEGUM CONDITARUM AB HOMINIBUS ET INTER ORDINATIONES LEGIS DIVINÆ.

Thus the Reader sees what may be gained by fairly and boldly submitting to the force of evidence. Such a manifestation of the divinity of the Law, arising out of the Deist's own principles, as is sufficient to cover him with confusion!

And what is it, we lose? Nothing sure very great or excellent. The imaginary honour of being original in certain Rites (considered in themselves) indifferent; and becoming good or bad by *comparison*, or by the *authority* which enjoins them, and by the object to which they are directed.

The Deist indeed pretends that, in the things borrowed from Egypt, the first principles of Law and Morality, and the very tritest customs of civil life, are to be included. The extravagance of this fancy hath been exposed elsewhere*. But as it is a species of folly all parties are apt to give into, it may not be amiss to consider this matter of TRADUCTIVE CUSTOMS a little more particularly.

There is nothing obstructs our discoveries in Antiquity (as far as concerns the noblest end of this study, the knowledge of mankind) so much as that false, though undisputed Principle, that the general customs of men, whether civil or religious, (in which a common likeness connects, as in a chain, the Manners of its inhabitants, throughout the whole globe) are traductive from one another. When, in truth, the origin of this general similitude is from the sameness of one common Nature, improved by reason, or debased by superstition. But when a custom, whose meaning lies not upon the surface, but requires a profounder search, is the subject of inquiry, it is much easier to tell us that the users borrowed it from such or such a people, than rightly to inform us, what common principle of REASON or SUPERSTITION gave birth to it in both.

How many able writers have employed their time and learning to prove that Christian Rome borrowed their superstitions from the Pagan city! They have indeed

* See book ii.

shewn

shewn an exact and surprising likeness in a great variety of instances. But the conclusion from thence, that, therefore, the Catholic borrowed from the Heathen, as plausible as it may seem, is, I think, a very great mistake; which the followers of this hypothesis might have understood without the assistance of the principle here laid down: since the rise of the superstitious customs in question were many ages later than the conversion of that imperial city to the Christian Faith: consequently, at the time of their introduction, there were no PAGAN prejudices which required such a compliance from the ruling Clergy. For this, but principally for the general reason here advanced, I am rather induced to believe, that the very same *spirit of superstition*, operating in equal circumstances, made both Papists and Pagans truly originals.

But does this take off from the just reproach which the Reformed have cast upon the Church of Rome, for the practice of such Rites, and encouragement of such Superstitions? Surely not; but rather strongly fixes it. In the former case, the rulers of that Church had been guilty of a base compliance with the infirmities of their new converts: in the latter, the poison of superstition is seen to have infected the very vitals of its Hierarchy *.

But then, truth will fare almost as ill when a right, as when a wrong principle, is pushed to an extravagance. Thus, as it would be ridiculous to deny, that the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables were derived from the Greeks, because we have a circumstantial history of their traduction: so it would be equally foolish not to own, that a great part of the Jewish ritual was composed in reference to the superstitions of Egypt; because their long abode in the country had made the Israelites extravagantly fond of *Egyptian* customs: but to think (as some Deists seem to have done) that they borrowed from thence their common principles of morality, and the legal provisions for the support of such principles †, is, whether we consider the Israelites under a divine or human direction, a

* See note [HHHHHH] at the end.

† See Marsham.

thing

thing equally absurd; and such an absurdity as betrays the grossest ignorance of human nature, and the history of mankind.

And thus much concerning the ANTIQUITY of Egypt, and its EFFECTS on the Divine Legation of Moses.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

NOTES ON BOOK IV.

P. 74. [A]

DR. Prideaux, in his learned *Connexions*, has indeed told us a very entertaining story of ZOROASTRES: whom, of an early Lawgiver of the Bactrians, Dr. Hyde had made a late false prophet of the Persians, and the preacher-up of one God in the public religion; which doctrine, however, this learned man supposes to be stolen from the Jews. But the truth is, the whole is a pure fable; contradicts all learned antiquity; and is supported only by the ignorant and romantic relations of late Persian writers under the Califes; who make Zoroastres contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, and servant to one of the Jewish prophets; yet, in another fit of lying, they place him as early as Moses: they even say he was Abraham; nay, they stick not to make him one of the builders of Babel. It may be thought strange how such crude imaginations, however cooked up, could be deemed serviceable to Revelation, when they may be so easily turned against it; for all falsehood is naturally on the side of unbelief. I have long indeed looked when some *minute philosopher* would settle upon this corrupted place, and give it the infidel taint. And just as I thought, it happened. One of them having grounded upon this absurd whimsy the impious slander *of the Jews having received from the followers of Zoroastres, during the captivity, juster notions of God and his providence than they had before.*—See *The Moral Philosopher*, vol. i. and vol. ii. p. 144. Another of these *Philosophers* makes as good an use of his Indian Bracmanes, and their *Vedam* and *Ezourvedam*; for this *Vedam* is their Bible, as the *Zend* or *Zendavesta* is the Bible of the fire worshippers in Persia, and both of them apparent forgeries since the time of Mahomet to oppose to the Alcoran. Yet M. Voltaire says, of his Κειμήλιον, the *Ezourvedam*, that it is apparently older than the conquests of Alexander, because the rivers, towns, and countries,

countries, are called by their old names, before they were new christened by the Greeks.—Cet ancien Commentaire du Vedam me parait ecrit avant les conquêtes d'Alexandre, car on n'y trouve aucun des noms que le vainqueurs Grecs imposerent aux fleuves, aux villes, aux contrees. Additions à l'Hist. Generale, p. 23, 24. Which is just as wise, as it would be to observe, that the Sarazin and Turkish annals were written before the conquests of Alexander, because we find in them none of the names which the Greeks imposed on the rivers, the cities, and the countries, which they conquered in the Lesser Asia, but their ancient names, by which they were known from the earliest times. It never came into the Poet's head that the Indians and Arabians might be exactly of the same humour, to restore the native names to the places from which the Greeks had driven them.

P. 75. [B] μόνῳ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γένει τὴν ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναλαθεῖσθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τῷ τῶν ὅλων ποιητῇ. καὶ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεῷ, καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. ix. p. 20. As the imaginary interest of religion engaged Dr. Prideaux to espouse the *Persian tale* of Zoroastres; so the same motive induced those excellent persons, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, and Newton, to take the affirmative in the general question, whether the one true God had ever been publicly worshipped out of Judea, between the introduction of general idolatry, and the birth of Christ. As this determination of the *general* question is no less injurious to Revelation than the *particular* of Zoroastres, we may be assured no less advantage would be taken of it. Lord Bolingbroke saw to what use it might be applied, and has therefore inforced it to the discredit of Judaism: indeed, with his usual address, by entangling it in a contradiction. But those other venerable names will make it necessary hereafter to examine both the one and the other question at large.

P. 82. [C] See Shuckford's Sacred and Profane History of the World connected, vol. ii. edit. 2 p. 317—327. Our countryman Gale, in the like manner, is for deriving all arts and sciences, without exception, from the

the Jews—" *Arithmetic*, he says, it is evident, had its " foundation from God himself; for the first computa- " tion of time is made by God, Gen. i. 5, &c. And as " for *navigation*, though some ascribe it to the Pheni- " cians; yet it is manifest the first idea thereof was " taken from Noah's ark. It is as plain that *geography* " traduced its first lines from the Mosaic description of " the several plantations of Noah's posterity."—Court of the Gentiles, part i. p. 18. Who would not think but the learned man, and learned he really was in good truth, was disposed to banter us, had he not given so sad a proof of his being in earnest as the writing three bulky volumes to support these wonderful discoveries.

P. 83. [D] See Canon Chron. Secul. v. tit. *Circumcisio.* I decline entering into this controversy for two reasons: 1. Because, which way soever the question be decided, the truth of the Mosaic account will be nothing affected by it; for the Scripture no where says, that Abraham was the first man, circumcised; nor is the prior use of this rite amongst men, any argument against God's enjoining him to observe it. The pious bishop Cumberland little thought he was disserving religion, when he followed an interpretation of the fragment of Sanchoniatho, which led him to conclude [Remarks on Sanchon's Phœn. Hist. p. 150.] that whole nations had practised circumcision before Abraham: but I quote this great man, not for the weight of his opinion in a matter so unconcerning, but as an example of that candour of mind and integrity of heart, without which the pursuit of truth is a vainer employment than the pursuit of butterflies. A less able and a less ingenious man, with not a tenth part of this noble writer's invention, would have had a thousand tricks and fetches to reconcile the first institution of this rite in Abraham to the high antiquity he had given to Cronus. Another example of a contrary conduct, in a writer of equal account, will shew us how much this ingenuity is to be esteemed in men of learning. The excellent Dr. Hammond, misled by the party-prejudices of his time, had persuaded himself to believe, that the prophecies of the Apocalypse related only to the first ages of the Christian Church;

Church; and that the book was written, not, as Irenæus supposed, about the end of Domitian's reign, but, as Epiphanius affirmed, in Claudius Cæsar's. To this, there were two objections; First, that then the prophecy, which, on Hammond's system, related to the destruction of Jerusalem, would be of an event past: while the prophecy speaks of it as a thing future. To this he replies, That it was *customary with the Prophets to speak of things past as of things to come.* So far was well. But then the second objection is, That if this were the time of writing the Revelations, Antipas, who is said, c. ii. ver. 13. to have been martyred, was yet alive. No matter for that, it was *customary with the Prophets,* as he tells us on the other hand, *to speak of things to come as of things past.* And all this within the compass of two pages. 2. The other reason for my not entering into this matter is, because it is not my intention to examine (except occasionally) any particular question of this kind. This hath been done already. What I propose is to prove in general, that many of the positive institutions of the Hebrews were enjoined in opposition to the idolatrous customs of the Egyptians; and that some bearing a conformity to those customs, and not liable to be abused to superstition, were indulged to them, in wise compliance with the prejudices which long use and habit are accustomed to induce.

P. 87. [E] The recovery of exhausted fertility by compost, seems not to have been a very early invention. For though Homer describes Laertes in his rural occupations as busied in this part of agriculture; yet Hesiod, in a professed and detailed poem on the subject, never once mentions the method of dunging land.—Not that I regard this circumstance as any sure proof to determine the question of Hesiod's priority in point of time. It may be well accounted for, by supposing, that they described particular places in the state they were then found, some more and some less advanced in the arts of civil life.

P. 89. [F] Here let me observe, that this representation of the high and flourishing state of Egypt, in these early times, greatly recommends the truth of the Samari-

tan chronology, and shews how much it is to be preferred to the Hebrew. See the learned and judicious M. LEONARD in his *Observations sur l'antiquité des Hieroglyphes scientifiques*, p. 339, 2d vol.

P. 90. [G] The various disasters to which determined disputants are obnoxious from their own proper tempers, would make no unentertaining part of literary history. A learned writer undertaking to confute the Egyptian pretensions to their high antiquity, thinks it proper first to shew, that they did indeed pretend to it. And this, it must be owned, he does effectually enough. His words are these: "Et profecto, ab ANTIQUISSIMIS "TEMPORIBUS hâc vanitate infecti erant: dicebat enim, "ipso Isaiæ tempore, purpuratorum quisque Pharaoni "se esse *filium regum* antiquissimorum."—*Spicilegia antiq. Egypt. &c. autore Gul. Jameson.* Now, could any thing be more unlucky? The author only meant to introduce his system by this flourish; and in introducing it, he confutes it. For can there be a better evidence of the high antiquity of any people, than that they claimed it from the *most ancient times?* from times long preceding that general vanity of a high antiquity, which had infected the nations, and prompted them to support their claims against one another, by forged evidence and unphilosophic reasoning? Not to say, that this high antiquity is acknowledged by the Prophet also: the force of whose exultation depends on the truth of it. For what reason was there to insist so much on the power and wisdom of God in *destroying the counsel of Egypt*, if *Pharaoh and his Counsellors*, only pretended to be, but were not, *wise:* nor yet, *the sons of ancient kings?*

P. 93. [H] Chæremon, who, as we are told by Josephus, wrote the history of Egypt, calls Moses and Joseph scribes; and Joseph a sacred scribe, ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωϋσήν τε καὶ ΙΩΣΗΠΟΝ. καὶ τοῦτον ΙΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ, cont. Ap. lib. i. It is true, the historian has confounded times, in making Joseph contemporary with Moses: but this was a common mistake amongst the Pagans. Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius calls Moses the son of Joseph—*Filius ejus*

[Joseph]

[Joseph] *Moses fuit, quem præter paternæ scientiæ hæreditatem, &c.* lib. xxxvi. cap. 2. Those learned men therefore are mistaken, who, for this reason, would have it that Chæremon, by Joseph, meant Joshua. Besides, the superior title here given to Joseph shews plainly we are to understand the patriarch, and not the companion of Moses: for though it appears from Scripture that Joseph and Moses were related to, and educated by the Egyptian Priesthood, yet we have not the least reason to think that Joshua had ever any concern with them; being held with the rest of his brethren in a state of servitude, remote from the benefit of that education, which a singular accident had bestowed upon Moses.

P. 93. [I] Hence we may collect, how ill-grounded that opinion is of Eupolemus and other authors, ancient and modern, who imagine, that Abraham first taught the Egyptians astrology. And indeed the contending for this original of the sciences seems to contradict another argument much in use amongst Divines, and deservedly so; which answers the objection of infidels against the authority of the Bible, from several inaccuracies in science to be met with in sacred history, by observing it was not God's purpose, in revealing himself to mankind, to instruct them in the sciences.

P. 94. [K] Εὔδοξον μὲν ἔν Χονέφεώς φησι Μεμφίτα διακῦσαι· Σόλωνα δὲ, Σάϊτα· ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΝ δὲ, Οἰνέφεως ΗΛΙΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ. Plut. de Is. & Osir. p. 632. Steph. ed. Here we see, each sage went for that science he was disposed to cultivate, to its proper mart: for not only Pythagoras studied astronomy at Heliopolis, where it was professed with the greatest celebrity; but Eudoxus learnt his geometry at Memphis, whose priests were the most profound mathematicians; and Solon was instructed in civil wisdom at Sais, whose patron deity being Minerva (as we are told by Herodotus and Strabo) shews that politicks was there in most request: and this doubtless was the reason why Pythagoras, who, during his long abode in Egypt, went through all their schools,

chose Minerva for the patroness of his legislation. See Div. Leg. Vol. I. book ii. sect. 2, 3.

P. 96. [L] I cannot forbear on this occasion to commend the ingenuous temper of another learned writer, far gone in the same system: who, having said all he could think of to discredit the antiquity and wisdom of Egypt, concludes in this manner:—"Tandem quæres, "in qua doctrina Ægyptiorum propter quam tanto-"pere celebrati erant in *ipsis Scripturis*, viz. 1 Reg. "ch. iv. com. 30. et vii. *actorum*, com. 22. Respondeo, "non nego magnos *Philosophos*, *Geometras*, & MEDI-"cos, et aliarum artium peritos fuisse in Egypto, tem-"pore Mosis, et postea quoque. Sed sensim et gradatim "illa doctrina exolevit, ut omnino nihil aut parum ejus "permanserit."—G. Jameson, Spicilegia Antiq. Ægypt. p. 400, 1.—You will ask now, What is become of his system? No matter. He is true to a better thing, the sacred Text: for the sake of which he took up the system; and for the sake of which, upon better information, he lays it down again: and, like an honest man, sticks to his Bible at all hazards.

P. 105. [M] Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. says, that Melampus was in the number of those civilizers of Greece, who went, to fit themselves for that employment, into Egypt: and, as Orpheus proceeded thence a legislator and philosopher; so Melampus, whose bent lay another way, commenced physician and diviner; those two arts being, as we have said, professed together in Egypt. Apollodorus says, he was the first who cured diseases by medicinal potions. τὴν διὰ φαρμακῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὑρηκώς—meaning the first among the Greeks. As this Greek went to Egpyt to be instructed in his craft, so we meet with an Egyptian who went to practise the very same trade in Greece:

Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πίρας Ναυπακτίας,
ΙΑΤΡΟΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ, χθόνα
Τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων.
Æsch. Ικετ. p. 316. Stanl. ed.

As

As to what is said of his being the son of Apollo, we must understand it in the sense of Homer, where he speaks of the Egyptian physicians in general:

ΙΗΤΡΟΣ δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπισάμενος περὶ πάντων
Ἀνθρώπων· ἦ γὰρ ΠΑΙΗΟΝΟΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ.

P. 115. [N] Nothing can be more unjust or absurd than the accusation of Joseph's making the free monarchy of Egypt despotic: for allowing it did indeed at this time suffer such a revolution, who is to be esteemed the author of it but Pharaoh himself? Joseph indeed was prime minister; but it does not appear that his master was of that tribe of lazy monarchs, who intrust their sceptre to the hands of their servants. Moses describes him as active, vigilant, jealous of his authority, anxious for his country, and little indulgent to his officers of state. But the terms in which he invests Joseph in his office, shew that office to be purely ministerial; *Thou shalt be over my house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled,* ONLY IN THE THRONE WILL I BE GREATER THAN THOU. [Gen. xli. 40.] i. e. thou shalt *administer justice,* but I will reserve to myself the prerogative of *giving law.* It is highly reasonable therefore, when we find, in so concise a history as the Mosaic, Joseph bidding the people give their money, their cattle, and their lands for bread, to suppose that he only delivered to them the words of Pharaoh, who would supply their wants on no other conditions.

P. 116. [O] This is the general sentiment of Antiquity: and as generally embraced by modern writers. Kircher makes it the foundation of his *Theatrum Hieroglyphicum,* and so consequently hath written a large volume full of the most visionary interpretations. The great principle, he goes upon, as he himself tells us, is this:—Hieroglyphica Ægyptiorum doctrina nihil aliud est, quàm Arcana de Deo, divinisque Ideis, Angelis, Dæmonibus, cæterisque mundanarum potestatum classibus ordinibusque scientia, SAXIS potissimùm insculpta. *Œdipus Ægyptiacus,* tom. iii. p. 4. Dr. Wilkins follows the received opinion in the general division of his subject, in his *Essay towards a real Character:* For speaking of

notes for secrecy, *such* (says he) *were the Egyptian hieroglyphics.*—Yet he adds, with his usual penetration, —*it seems to me questionable whether the Egyptians did not at first use their hieroglyphics as a mere shift for the want of letters, as was done by the Mexicans.* p. 12.— And this was all his subject led him to say of the *Egyptian Hieroglyphics.* Servius had gone further, and asserted the priority of hieroglyphics without a doubt. Annus enim secundum Ægyptios indicabatur, *ante inventas literas*, picto dracone caudam suam mordente. Apud Virg. Æn. I. v. ver. 85.

P. 120. [P] The *ship and pilot*, bearing this signification, would, of course, be much used in the descriptions of their mysteries, in which, as we have shewn, the knowledge of the Governor of the universe was part of the ἀπόῤῥητα: and so we find it more than once delineated in the *Bembine Table.* Kircher, according to custom, makes it full of sublime knowledge; but the plain truth is no more than this above.—Tacitus, speaking of the religion of the Suevians, says they worshipped Isis; he could not conceive how this came about, only the figure of a galley, under which image she was represented, shewed that the worship was imported from abroad. "Pars Suevorum & ISIDI sacrificat: unde causa & origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, *nisi quod* signum ipsum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet advectam religionem." De Morib. Germ. c. ix. The latter part of which period Mr. Gordon has thus translated, *unless the figure of her image formed like a galley shewed, &c.* But *nisi quod* does not signify *unless*, as implying any doubt, but *saving only.* So the same author, De Mor. Ger. c. xxv. "Occidere solent non "disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, "*nisi quod* impune." Tacitus could tell no more of the original than this, that the worship of Isis was imported, because her image was made in the figure of a galley. In this he was positive: but for all this, not the less mistaken. It was indeed imported; but the galley was no mark of that original. Strabo tells us, in his fourth book, that, in an island near Britain, they performed the same mysterious rites to Ceres and Proserpine as were used in Samo-

Samothrace. Ceres and Isis were the same. The Phenician seamen, without doubt, brought them thither, as likewise to the Suevians inhabiting the coasts of the German ocean. The Governor of the universe was taught in these mysteries. Isis was represented by the later Egyptians to be the Governor of the universe, as we have seen before, in a discourse on the Metamorphosis of Apuleius. But the governor of the universe was delineated, in their hieroglyphics, by a *ship and pilot*. Hence, amongst the Suevians, Isis was worshipped under the form of a *galley*, and not because her religion was of foreign growth: And so amongst the Romans, which Tacitus did not advert to. For in the *calendarium rusticum* amongst the inscriptions of Gruter, in the month of March, an Egyptian holyday is marked under the title of ISIDIS NAVIGIUM. The ceremonies on this holyday are described in Apuleius Met. l. ii.—It was a festival of very high antiquity amongst the Egyptians: and seems to be alluded to in these words of the Prophet Isaiah: *Wo to the land* shadowing with wings—*that sendeth ambassadors by the sea even in* VESSELS OF BULRUSHES *upon the waters, saying, Go ye swift messengers, &c.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

P. 122. [Q] The original is; καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διεῖπωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας. There is a small fault in this reading; it should be τὰς ΤΕ ἱερὰς, with the conjunction: The corruption helped to mislead Cumberland, who translates,—*and formed the sacred characters of the other elements* [p. 38. of his *Sanchoniatho's Phenician history*]; which looks as if the learned prelate understood by στοιχείων, the *elements of nature*; *Cœlum* or *Ouranos* having (as he supposed) been mentioned before, as delineated or engraved by Taautus: but ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ signifies the elements of hieroglyphic writing, and λοιπῶν refers not to that, but to θεῶν just above; which further appears from what follows—τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς; otherwise, only Dagon is left, for these words, τοῖς λοποῖς θεοῖς to be applied to.—Sanchoniatho had said that Taautus represented the gods in a new invented hieroglyphic character; and then goes on to tell us that he invented other hieroglyphic characters, whether by figures

or marks; for I apprehend that ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαραχθήρας principally designs that part of hieroglyphic writing which was by marks, not figures: for without doubt, at first *, the Egyptians used the same method as the Mexicans, who, we are told, expressed in their hieroglyphic writing, those things which had form, by figures; others by arbitrary marks. See p. 118, note (†). But we shall see, that when the Egyptians employed this writing for the vehicle of their secrets, they then invented the forms of things to express abstract ideas. However, that this is the meaning of στοιχείων is further evident from this place of Eusebius, where he speaks of a quotation of Philo's, from a work of Sanchoniatho, concerning the Phenician elements, Φοινίκων στοιχείων; which work, as appears by his account of the quotation, treated of the nature of several animals. But we have shewn how much the study of natural history contributed to the composition of hieroglyphic characters.

P. 123. [R.] At the time this account was first given to the public, the learned Dr. Richard Pococke coming fresh from Egypt, thought it incumbent on him to contradict that Egyptian learning which was only conceived at home. But as, by a common practice of prudent men, he had not mentioned me by name, it was thought I had no right to reply. Let the reader judge of one, by the other. This learned and indeed candid writer, in his book of travels, has a chapter, *On the ancient hieroglyphics of Egypt*; in which he expresseth himself as follows:—"If hieroglyphical figures stood for words or "sounds that signified certain things, the power of hie-"roglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of "letters composing such a sound, that by agreement "was made to signify such a thing. For hieroglyphics, "as words, seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds "signify things; as for instance, it might have been "agreed that the figure of a crocodile might stand for "the sound that meant what we call malice: the chil-"dren of the priests were early taught that the figure of

* This Eustathius intimates in these words, speaking of the most ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics,—ζῴδιά τινα ἱερογλυφῶντες, καὶ λοιπὸν δὲ χαραχθήρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν μέγιστα ἐβούλοντο.—in Iliad, vi. ver. 168.

"a cro-

" a crocodile stood for such a sound, and, if they did " not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly " stand with them for a sound; though, as the sound, " it signified also a quality or thing; and they might " afterwards be taught the meaning of this sound; " as words are only sounds, which sounds we agree " shall signify such and such things; so that, to chil- " dren, words only stand for sounds, which relate to " such things as they know nothing of; and in this " sense, we say children learn many things like par- " rots, what they do not understand, and their me- " mories are exercised only about sounds, till they " are instructed in the meaning of the words. This I " thought it might be proper to observe, AS SOME SAY " HIEROGLYPHICS STOOD FOR THINGS AND NOT FOR " WORDS,—if sounds articulated in a certain manner " are words. And though it may be said, that in this " case, when different nations of different languages " agree on common characters, that stand for certain " things they agree on, that then such figures stand for " things: this will be allowed; but then they stand for " sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that " signify such things: and, as observed before, to chil- " dren, who know nothing of the several things they " stand for, to them they are only marks that express " such and such sounds: so that these figures stand not " for things alone, but as words, for sounds and things *."

The design of this passage, the reader sees, is to oppose the principle I went upon, in explaining the nature of Egyptian hieroglyphics, *that they stood for things, and not for words*. But that is all one sees; for the learned writer's expression conforming to his ideas, will not suffer us to do more than guess at the proof which he advances; it looks, however, like this,—That hieroglyphics cannot be said to stand for things only; because things being denoted by words or sounds; and hieroglyphics exciting the idea of sounds (which are the notes of things) as well as the idea of the things themselves, hieroglyphics stand both for sounds and things.—This seems to be the argument put into common English.

* Pp. 228, 229. of a book intitled, " A Description of the East," &c.

But,

But, for fear of mistaking him, let us confine ourselves to his own words.

If hieroglyphical figures (says he) *stood for words or sounds that signified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of letters composing such a sound that by agreement was made to signify such a thing.* Without doubt, if hieroglyphics stood for sounds, they were of the nature of words, which stand for sounds. But this is only an hypothetical propositition: let us see therefore how he addresses himself to prove it—*For hieroglyphics,* AS WORDS, *seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify things; as for instance, it* MIGHT *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *stand for the same sound that meant what we call malice.* The propriety of the expression is suited to the force of the reasoning. 1. Instead of saying, *but hieroglyphics,* the learned writer says, *for hieroglyphics*; which not expressing an illation, but implying a reason, obscures the argument he would illustrate. 2. He says, *Hieroglyphics, as words, seem to have stood for sounds.* Just before he said, *hieroglyphics stood for words* OR *sounds.* Here they are AS *words,* or *like words,* and *seem to stand* FOR *sound.* What are we to take them for? are words sound? or, do they stand for sound? He has given us our choice. But we go on. 3. For, he corroborates this seeming truth by an instance, in which the possibility of its standing for a sound is made a proof of its so doing. *It* MIGHT (says he) *have been agreed that the figure of a crocodile* MIGHT *stand, &c.*

But he is less diffident in what follows. *The children of the priests were early taught that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound, and if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly stand with them for a sound.* This indeed is an anecdote: but where did he learn that the children, before they could decipher the sounds of their own language, were taught hieroglyphics? Till now, hieroglyphics, when got into exclusive hands, were understood to be reserved for those instructed in high and mysterious science. But let us suppose that they were taught to children amongst their first elements: yet even then, as we shall see from the

the nature of the thing, they could never stand as marks for words or sounds. When a child is taught the power of letters, he learns that the letters, which compose one word, *malice*, for instance, express the *sound*; which, naturally arising from a combination of the several powers of each letter, shews him that the letters stand for such a sound or word. But when he is taught that the figure or picture of a crocodile signifies *malice*, he is naturally and necessarily conceives (though he knows not the meaning of the word) that it stands for some *thing*, signified by that word, and not for a *sound*: because there is no natural connexion between *figure* and a *sound*, as there is between *figure* and a *thing*. And the only reason why the word *malice* intervenes, in this connexion, is because of the necessity of the use of words to distinguish things, and rank them into sorts. But the veriest child could never be so simple as to conceive that, when he was told the figure of a beast with four short legs and a long tail signified *malice*, that it signified the *sound* of *malice*: any more than if he were told it signified a *crocodile*, that it signified the *sound* of the word *crocodile*. The truth is, the ignorant often mistake words for things, but never, things for words: that is, they frequently mistake the name of a thing for its nature: and rest contented in the knowledge which that gives them: Like him who, on the sight of a pictured elephant, inquiring what the creature was, on his being answered, that it was the *great Czar*, asked no further, but went away well satisfied in his acquaintance with that illustrious Stranger. Yet I apprehend he did not understand his informer to mean that it signified only the sound of that word. Perhaps the learned writer will object, that the cases are different; that the *elephant* was a mere picture, and the *crocodile* a sign or mark. But I have shewn at large that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics were at first mere pictures; and that all the alteration they received, in becoming marks, was only the having their general use of conveying knowledge rendered more extensive and expeditious, more mysterious and profound; while they still continued to be the marks of *things*.

To proceed; our author considers next what he apprehends may be thought an objection to his opinion.

And

And though (says he) *it may be said that, in this case, where different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that stand for certain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for things.* To which he answers, *This will be allowed; but then they stand for sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such things.* He who can grant so much, and without injury to his system, need be under no fear of ever giving his adversary advantages. He may, if he pleases, say next, when disputing about the colour of an object,—*that it is black, will be allowed; but then it is white too.* For a mark for *things* can no more be a mark for *sounds*, than *black* can be *white*. The reason is the same in both cases; one quality or property excludes the other: thus, if hieroglyphic marks stand for *things*, and are used as common characters by various nations differing in speech and language, they cannot stand for *sounds*; because these men express the same *thing* by different sounds; unless, to remove this difficulty, he will go farther, and say, not, as he did before, that one *hieroglyphic word* (to use his own language) stood for one sound, but that it stands for an hundred. Again, if hieroglyphic marks stand for *sounds*, they cannot stand for *things*: not those things which are not signified by such sounds; this he himself will allow: nor yet, I affirm, for those which are thus signified; because it is the sound which stands for the thing signified by the sound, and not the hieroglyphic mark. But all this mistake proceeded from another, namely, *that* WORDS *stand both for sounds and things*, which we now come to. For he concludes thus, *So that these figures* (viz. *hieroglyphics*) *stand not for things alone, but,* AS WORDS, *for sounds and things.* An unhappy illustration! which has all the defects, both in point of meaning and expression, that a proposition can well have. For, if by *words*, be meant *articulated sounds*, then the expression labours in the sense, as affirming, that sounds stand for sounds. And that he meant so is possible, because in the beginning of the passage quoted, he uses words for articulate sounds.—*Hieroglyphics*, says he, *stood for words* OR *sounds.* But if, by words, he meant letters, (and that he might mean so is possible likewise, for he pre-

presently afterwards uses words in that sense too—*Hieroglyphics, as words*, says he, *seem to stand for sounds*: then the proposition is only false: the plain truth being this, letters stand for sounds only; which sounds they naturally produce; as sounds arbitrarily denote things.

But to be a little more particular; as in this distinction lies the judgment which is to be made, if ever it be rightly made, of the controversy between us. All this confusion of counter-reasoning proceeds, as we observed before, First, from not reflecting that letters, which stand for words, *have not*, and hieroglyphics, which stand for things, once *had not*, an arbitrary, but a natural designation For, as the powers of letters naturally produce words or sounds, so the figures of hieroglyphics naturally signify things: either more simply, by representation, or more artificially by analogy: Secondly, from his not considering, that as we cannot think nor converse about things either accurately or intelligibly without words, so their intervention becomes necessary in explaining the marks of things. But therefore, to make hieroglyphics the marks of sounds, because sounds accompany things, would be as absurd as to make letters the marks of things, because things accompany sounds. And who, before our author, would say that *letters signified things as well as sounds*? unless he had a mind to confound all meaning. If he chose to instruct, or even to be understood, he would say, that letters naturally produced sounds or words; and that words arbitrarily denoted things: and had our author spoken the same intelligible language, and told us that hieroglyphics naturally expressed things, and that things were arbitrarily denoted by words, he would indeed have spared both of us the present trouble; but then he had said nothing new. As it is, I cannot but suspect that this learned writer, though he had been in Egypt, yet found his *hieroglyphics* at home, and mistook these for the Egyptian. No other agreeing with his description of picture characters standing for *sounds*, but that foolish kind of *rebus-writing* called by the polite vulgar, *hieroglyphics*, the childish amusement of the illiterate; in which, indeed, the figures stand only for sounds; sounds, divested of

sense

sense as well as *things*. Nor is Dr. Pococke the only *polite* writer who has fallen into this ridiculous mistake. See a paper called THE WORLD, N° XXIV.

P. 131. [S] It may not be improper, in this place, just to take notice of one of the strangest fancies, that ever got possession of the pericranium of an Antiquary. It is this, that the Chinese borrowed their *real characters* or *hieroglyphic marks* from the Egyptians. The author of it expresses his conceit in this manner—"Linguam autem primitivam & barbaram vel puram, vel saltem parum immutatam, et politam Ægyptiorum consuetudine, retinere poterant [Sinenses,] et solum hoc sibi ab ipsis DERIVARE, ET ADOPTARE SCRIBENDI GENUS, ratione habita non ad linguam Ægyptiacam, sed unice ad ideas his Characteribus expressas, quos et sermonis sui nativi, immo etiam et linguæ suæ syllabis separatim sumptis eodem tempore applicaverunt." De Inscr. Ægyptica Epist. p. 53. Authore Turbervil. Needham.

From what hath been observed of the nature and origin of a REAL CHARACTER in general, supported by what the Chinese tell us of the very high antiquity of theirs, it is impossible to fix upon any period of time when the Egyptians (whether invited, or simply enabled by their improvements in navigation and commerce to penetrate into China) could find this highly policied people without a *real character*.

The question then will be, What possible inducements the Chinese could have to exchange their *real characters* for the Egyptian? Benefit by this change they could receive none, because one *real character* is just as good as another: And men at their ease, are rarely disposed to change native for foreign, but with the prospect of some advantage. To this it may be said, "that one *alphabetic character* likewise is just as good as another: and yet nothing has been more common than for one nation to change its own alphabet for the alphabet of another." An instance, without doubt, very apposite. To change the shapes of four and twenty letters is but a morning's work; and I suppose a small share of civility and complaisance might go thus far, between neigh-

neighbours. But to throw away a million of *old* marks, and to have a million of *new* to learn, is an amusement of quite another nature. I apprehend, that such a proposal (had the Egyptians made it, with an offer of all their learning along with it) would have much alarmed the indolent unenterprising temper of the Chinese. But the Critic seems to think, that an old character, like an old coat, would be willingly exchanged for a new one. Alas! Time and Antiquity, which make such havock with the *muddy vestures of decay*, give a new gloss, as well as a stronger texture, to the *spiritual clothing* of ideas. And if their old characters were like any old coat, it must be such a one as Settle wore in Elysium; which, as the Poet sings, had, together with its owner, received a new lustre in this its state of beatification:

"All as the Vest, appear'd the Wearer's frame,
"Old in new state, another yet the same."

The truth is, the Chinese, who have preserved specimens of all the various revolutions in their *real characters*, have the highest veneration for the most ancient. Now is it possible to conceive that a people, thus circumstanced and disposed, should part with their native characters, the gift of their Demi-gods and Heroes, to receive others, of the same sort, from strangers: recommendable for no advantage which their own did not possess, and partaking of all the inconveniencies to which their own were subject. Had the Egyptians indeed offered them an ALPHABET (which, were they disposed to be so communicative, we know, they had it in their power to do, at what time soever it can be *reasonably* supposed they first visited the coasts of China), the offer had been humane, and, without doubt, the benefit had been gratefully accepted. But that the Egyptians did nothing of all this, appears from the Chinese being without an ALPHABET to this very day. And yet I am persuaded, it was the confounding of these two things, one of which was practicable and useful, the other useless and impracticable, I mean the communication of an Alphabet, which was common in the ancient world; and the communication of a real Character, which was never heard of till now,—I say, it was the confounding of these two things that gave birth to this strange conceit.

And

And then the similitude of shape between the Egyptian and the Chinese *marks*, was thought to complete the discovery. The Letter-writer did not seem to reflect, that the shapes of *real characters*, after great improvements made in them by a long course of time, such as the Egyptian and the Chinese, must needs have a great resemblance, whether the characters were formed by ANALOGY or INSTITUTION. In the first case, *nature* made the resemblance, as being the common archetype to both nations. In the latter, *necessity*, for only straight and crooked lines being employed to form these marks, there must needs arise from a combination of such lines infinitely varied, a striking resemblance between the *real characters* of two people, though most distant in genius and situation. But the folly, which such Conjectures are apt to fall into, is, that, if the *forms* of the marks be alike, the *powers* must be alike also.

What is here said will enable us likewise to appreciate another ingenious contrivance of one *M. de Guignes, of the Academy Royal of Inscriptions, &c.* to get to the same discovery. Upon a supposition of the truth of what I had laid down, that the first Egyptian alphabet was taken from their hieroglyphic characters *, this Academician fell to work, to ANALYSE, as he terms it, the Chinese characters; when to his great surprise, he found, that their contents were only a certain number of LETTERS belonging to the Oriental *Alphabets*, packed up, as it were, for carriage: which, when taken out, developed, and put in order, formed an Egyptian or Phenician *word*, that expressed the idea for which the Chinese *real Character* stood, as its Representatives. How precarious, and of how little solidity this fanciful Analysis is, may be understood by all who have seen these *Chinese marks* and *Oriental alphabets*; both of which

* M. Warburton avoit pensé que le premier Alphabet avoit emprunté ses elemens des Hieroglyphes mêmes; et M. l' Abbé Barthelemy avoit mis cette excellénte théorie dans un plus grand jour, en plaçant sur une colonne diverses lettres Ægyptiennes, en correspondance avec les Hieroglyphes qui les avoient produits. On pouvoit donc presumer que *les Ægyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois* les caracteres que je venois de decouvrir, mais qu'ils les regardoient eux-mêmes alors comme des signes Hieroglyphiques, & non comme des lettres proprement dites.—De l'Origine des Chinois, p. 63, 64.

which consist of the same straight and curve lines variously combined; so that it cannot be otherwise but that in every Chinese mark should be found, that is, easily imagined, a composition of any alphabetic letters which the profound Decipherer stands in need of. But the pleasantry of the conceit lies here, that though the Chinese have alphabetic characters (which this ingenious Author has, with great astonishment, now first discovered) yet they themselves know nothing of the matter, as he at the same time has assured us *.

I might likewise insist upon this scheme's labouring under the same absurdity with M. Needham's. For though when M. de Guignes speaks of that part of the Chinese real character whose marks are *symbolic*, or formed upon analogy, p. 71, 72. he is willing to have it believed (what his title-page enounces), that China was inhabited by an Egyptian Colony, which carried along with them the Hieroglyphics they now use: yet where he examines that other part, consisting of arbitrary marks, or marks by institution, p. 64 & seq. he supposes them, as we see above, communicated to the Chinese by the Egyptians. *On pouvoit donc presumer* (says he) *que les Egyptiens avoient communiqué aux Chinois les caractères que je venois de decouvrir.*

To conclude, the learned world abounds with discoveries of this kind. They have all one common Original; the old inveterate error, that a similitude of customs and manners, amongst the various tribes of mankind most remote from one another, must needs arise from some communication. Whereas human nature, without any other help, will, in the same circumstances, always exhibit the same appearances.

P. 131. [T] L'Alphabeth Ethiopien est de tous ceux que l'on connoit qui tient encore des Hieroglyphes. Fourmont, Reflexions Crit. sur les Hist. des Anc.

* Les caracteres Chinoise dans l'etat où nous les avons à present, constituent trois sortes de caracteres; l'Epistolique ou ALPHABETIQUE, le hieroglyphique & le symbolique; c'est un nouveau rapport des plus singuliers avec l'Egypte, *qui n'a point été connu jusque* à present, QUE LES CHINOIS EUXMEMES IGNORENT, et qui me jette dans le plus grand étonnement, un examen attentif—me l'a fait connoitre, &c. Mem. de Lit. Tom. 29. p. 15.

Peuples, tom. sec. p. 501. Kircher illustrates this matter in his account of the Coptic alphabet. But as on his system every thing that relates to Egypt is a mystery, the shapes and names of the letters of their alphabet we may expect to find full of profound wisdom: yet, methinks, nothing could be more natural, than for a people long used to hieroglyphic characters, to employ the most celebrated of them, when they invented an alphabet, in forming the letters of it: and if the Chinese, who yet want an alphabet, were now to make one, it is not to be doubted but they would use the most venerable of their characteristic marks for the letters of it. However, let us hear Kircher for the fact's sake:—Ita Ægyptiis natura comparatum fuit, ut quemadmodum nihil in omnibus eorum institutis sine mysterio peragebatur, ita & in lingua communi, uti ex alphabeto eorundem, mysteriosa literarum institutione ita concinnato, ut nulla ferè in eodem litera reconditorum sacramentorum non undiquaque plena reperiretur, patet. De primævis Ægyptiorum literis variæ diversorum sunt opiniones. *Omnes tamen in hoc consentiunt, plerasque ex sacrorum animalium forma, incessu, aliarumque corporis partium sitibus & symmetrio desumptas.* Ita Demetrius Phalereus, qui septem vocales assignans, septem Diis consecratas, ait, cæteras ex animalium formâ desumptas. Eusebius adstruit idem.—Theatr. Hierogl. p. 42. tom. iii. of his Œdip. Ægypt. As for this fancy, mentioned by Demetrius Phalereus, it had a very different original from what Kircher supposes; being only an enigmatic intimation of the different natures of vowels and consonants. The latter being brute sounds without the aid of the former, by which they are as it were animated.

P. 131. [U] The very learned and illustrious author of a work intitled, Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes, Etrusques, Grecques et Romaines, vol. I. M. the Count Caylus, after having confuted the idle conjectures of certain learned men concerning the contents of a sepulchral linen, marked over with Egyptian alphabetic characters, proceeds thus:—Il me semble qu'on tireroit de plus grands avantages de ce monument, si au lieu de s'obstiner a percer ces ténébres, on tâchoit, de remonter par

par son moyen à l'origine de l'écriture, et d'en suivre le développement et les progrès: si l'on cherchoit enfin à connoître la forme des anciennes lettres, et le pays où l'on a commencé à les employer. Ces questions et tant d'autres semblables ne pourront jamais être eclaircies par les temoignages des auteurs Grecs et Latins. Souvent peu instruits des antiquités de leur pays, ils n'ont fait que recueillir des traditions incertaines, et multiplier des doutes, auxquels en prefereroit volontiers l'ignorance la plus profonde: c'est aux monumens qu'on doit recourir. Quand ils parleront clairement, il faudra bien que les anciens auteurs s'accordent avec eux." Avant le commencement de ce siécle on ne connoissoit point l'ecriture courante des Egyptiens, et plusieurs critiques la confondoient tantôt avec celle des anciens Hebreux, et tantôt avec les hieroglyphes; mais depuis cette epoque il nous est venu plusieurs fragmens, qui ont fixé nos idées; et il faut espérer que de nouvelles recherches nous en procureront un plus grand nombre. Conservons avec soin des restes si précieux, et tachons de les mettre en œuvre, en suivant l'exemple de celui des modernes, qui a repandu les plus grandes lumieres sur la question de l'antiquité des lettres. M. Warburton a detruit l'erreur où l'on etoit que les prêtres Egyptiens avoient inventé les hieroglyphes pour cacher leur science: il a distingué trois epoques principales dans l'art de se communiquer les idées par ecrit: sous la premiere, l'ecriture n'etoit qu'une simple representation des objets, une veritable peinture; sous la seconde, elle ne consistoit qu'en hieroglyphes, c'est-à-dire, en une peinture abrégée, qui, par exemple, au lieu de representer un objet entier, n'en representoit qu'une partie, un rapport, &c. Enfin sous la troisieme epoque, les hieroglyphes altérés dans leurs traits devinrent les élémens d'une écriture courante: M. Warburton auroit pû mettre cette excellente theorie à portée de tout le monde, en plaçant dans une premiére colomne une suite d'hieroglyphes, et dans une seconde les lettres qui en sont dérivées; mais sans doute que les bornes qu'il s'etoit prescrites ne lui ont pas permis d'entrer dans ce detail. Quoi qu'il soit, tous ceux qui recherchent l'origine des arts et des connoissances humaines, peuvent verifier le systême du sçavant Anglois, et se convaincre

que les lettres Egyptiennes ne sont que des hieroglyphes deguisés. Nous avons assez de secours pour entreprendre cet examin. Les recueils des antiquaires offrent plusieurs monumens Egyptiennes chargés d'hieroglyphes: et la seule bande de toile que l'on publie ici [Pl. N° 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.] suffiroit pour donner une idée de l'écriture courante—de s'assurer que l'alphabet de la langue Egyptienne emanoit des hieroglyphes, il suffira d'avoir un assez grande quantité des lettres isolées, et de comparer avec les figures représentées sur les monumens Egyptiens. Or je puis assûrer que l'on appercevra entr'elles la liaison la plus intime, et les rapports les plus sensibles; et pour s'en convaincre, on n'a qu'à jetter les yeux sur le N° I. de la XXVI. planche. J'y ai fait graver sur une premiere colomne une suite d'hieroglyphes tirés la plûpart des obelisques, et dans une colomne correspondante, les lettres Egyptiennes qui viennent de ces hieroglyphes. On trouvera, par exemple, que le premier hieroglyphe representant une barque, a produit un element d'ecriture, dont la valeur a pû varier, suivant les points ou les traits dont il etoit affecté: que le troisieme hieroglyphe, qu'on croit être l'image d'une porte, en perdant son arrondissement a formé la lettre qui lui est paralléle; que la figure d'homme ou d'animal accroupie au N° 4. est devenue une lettre qui ne conserve que les linéamens du symbole original; enfin que le serpent figuré si souvent sur les monumens Egyptiens, N° 19. s'est changé en un caractère qui retrace encore aux yeux les sinuosités de ce reptile. On trouvera aussi que l'autres hieroglyphes, tels que le 2. le 5. le 6. le 11. le 13, &c. ont passé dans l'ecriture courante, sans éprouver le moindre changement. Au reste, ce n'est ici que le leger essai d'une operation qui pourroit être poussée plus loin, et dans laquelle on appercevroit peutêtre des rapports différens de ceux que j'ai établis entre certaines lettres Egyptiennes prouve visiblement leur origine; et plus il est approfondi, plus il sert à confirmer le sentiment de M. Warburton, p. 69. Thus far this learned person. I have borrowed the scheme he refers to, and the reader will find it marked, Plate VII.

P. 132.

P. 132. [X] M. Voltaire, in a discourse intitled, Nouveau plan de l'Histoire de l'Esprit humain, speaking of the Chinese printing, which is an impression from a solid block, and not by movable types, says they have not adopted the latter method, *out of attachment to their old usages*—On sait que cette Imprimerie est une gravure sur des planches de bois. L'Art de graver les caractéres mobiles et de fonte, beaucoup supérieure à la leur, *n'a point encore été adopté par eux*, TANT ILS SONT ATTACHES A LEURS ANCIENS USAGES. Now I desire to know of M. Voltaire, how it was possible for them to adopt the method of a Font of types or movable characters, unless they had an *alphabet*: That they had no such, M. Voltaire very well knew, as he gives us to understand, in the same place. L'art de faire connoitre ses idées par l'ecriture, qui devroit n'être qu'une methode très simple, est chez eux ce qu'ils ont de plus difficile; chaque mot a des charactéres differens: un savant à la Chine est celui qui connoit le plus de ces caractéres, et quelques uns sont arrivés à la vieillesse avant que de savoir bien écrire. Would not Caslon or Baskerville be finely employed to make a font of letters for this people, who have so many millions of real characters? But this historian of men and manners goes on in the same rambling incoherent manner, and so he can but discredit the Jewish history he cares little for the rest.—Qui leur donne une superiorité reconnue sur tous ceux qui raportent l'origine des autres nations, c'est qu'on n'y voit aucun *prodige* aucune *prediction*, aucune même de ces fourberies politiques que nous attribuons aux Fondateurs des autres Etats, excepté peut-être ce qu'on a imputé à FOHI, d'avoir fait accroire qu'il avoit vû ses Loix ecrites sur le dos d'un serpent ailé. Cette imputation même fait voir qu'on connaissait l'ecriture avant *Fohi*. Enfin, ce n'est pas à nous, au bout de notre Occident, à contester les archives d'une nation que etait toute policée quand nous n'etions que des Sauvages—First, China has the advantage of the western world, because the Founders of its religious policy employed neither Miracles nor Prophecies, nor the Founders of its civil policy state tricks and cheats, like other Leaders. And yet he is forced, before the words are well out of his mouth, to

own that *Fohi* pretended to have seen his laws written upon the back of a winged Serpent: and one can hardly think that Fohi now gotten into so good a train would stop there. Secondly, By this, however, the historian gains (and he bids us observe it) a very early date for *writing* amongst the Chinese, whereas in truth they have no *writing* in the sense the historian gives to the word, even at this day: and as for Hieroglyphic Characters, all nations had them from the most early times, and as soon as men began to associate. Thirdly, We barbarians of yesterday must not pretend, he says, to contradict the records of this ancient nation. And why not, I pray, when superior Science has enabled this upstart people of the West to detect the falsehood of the Records of Egypt, a nation which pretended to as high antiquity as the Chinese? This they have done, and, I suppose, to the good liking of our historian, if ever he has heard of the names of Scaliger and Petavius, of Usher and Marsham.

P. 132. [Y] —Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐ μόνον Αἰγυπτίων οἱ λογικώταῖοι, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν, τὸ συμβολικὸν εἶδος ἐζήλωσαν· φασὶ γὰν καὶ Ἰδανθύραν τῶν ΣΚΥΘΩΝ βασιλέα, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v. p. 567. Thus this learned Father; who being in the general prejudice that hieroglyphics were a late art, invented by philosophic men, to secrete their knowledge, expresses himself accordingly, ὅσοι φιλοσοφίας ὠρέχθησαν: and yet, methinks, the story he tells of the Scythian king might have directed him to another original.—Eustathius says the same thing: Οἱ δέ γε παλαιοὶ, ὁποῖόν τι καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιον ἐποίεν, ζώδιά τινα ἱερογλυφῆνλες καὶ λοιπὸς δὲ χαρακτῆρας εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβέλονλο, ὅτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καθὰ καὶ τῶν τινες ὕστερον Σκυθῶν, ἐσήμαινον ἃ ἤθελον εἰδωλά τινα καὶ πολυειδῆ γράμματα ξέσματα ἐγγράφονλες.—In Iliad. vi. ver. 168.

P. 133. [Z] In judging only from the nature of things, and without the surer light of Revelation, one should be apt to embrace the opinion of Diodorus Siculus [lib. ii.] and Vitruvius [lib. ii. cap. i.] that the first Men lived, for some time, in woods and caves, after the manner of beasts, uttering only confused and indistinct noises; till associating

associating for mutual assistance, they came, by degrees, to use articulate sounds, mutually agreed upon, for the arbitrary signs or marks of those ideas in the mind of the speaker, which he wanted to communicate to the hearer. Hence the diversity of languages; for it is confessed on all hands, that speech is not innate. This is so natural an account of the original of language, and so unquestioned by Antiquity, that Gregory Nyssen [*adver. Eunomium*, lib. xii.] a father of the church, and Richard Simon [*Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.* lib. i. cap. 14 & 15. lib. iii. cap. 21.] a priest of the Oratory, have both endeavoured to support this hypothesis: and yet, methinks, they should have known better; Scripture plainly informing us, that *language* had a different original. This was just the case of SACRIFICES. It is very easy to conceive, that one sort arose naturally from the sense of gratitude to our Divine Benefactor, and the other from a sense of our demerit towards him (as will be shewn hereafter); yet it is certain they were of divine appointment. In this indeed the two cases differ; *language*, I believe, had, for its sole original, divine instruction; whereas *sacrifices* amongst many people were certainly of human invention, and underived from tradition. But to return to the subject of language. It is strange, as I say, that these learned men should not have been better informed. We see, by Scripture, that God instructed the first man, in *religion*. And can we believe, he would not at the same time teach him *language*, so necessary to support the intercourse between man and his Maker? For Quietism is a thing of modern growth; this, with Mysticism of all kinds, is the issue of that wantonness which makes favoured man grow tired of his two great blessings, REASON and LANGUAGE.—If it be said, Man might gain language by the use of reason, I reply, so might he gain religion likewise: and that much easier and sooner. Again, when God created man, he made woman for his companion and associate; but the only means of enjoying this benefit is the use of speech. Can we think that God would leave them to themselves, to get out of the forlorn condition of brutality as they could? But there is more than a probable support for this opinion.

If I am not much mistaken, we have the express testimony of MOSES, that God did indeed teach men language: It is where he tells us, that *God brought every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.* Gen. ii. 19, 20. Here, by a common figure of speech, instead of directly *relating* the fact, that God taught men language, the historian *represents* it, by shewing God in the act of doing it, in a particular mode of information; and that, the most apposite we can conceive, namely, elementary instruction, in the giving names to substances; such as those with which Adam was to be most conversant, and which therefore had need of being distinguished each by its proper name: How familiar an image do these words convey of a learner of his rudiments—*And God brought every beast*, &c. *to Adam, to* SEE *what he would call them.* In a word, the prophet's manner of relating this important fact, has, in my opinion, an uncommon elegance. But men of warm imaginations overlooked this obvious and natural meaning to ramble after forced and mysterious senses, such as this, that Adam gave to every creature *a name expressive of its nature.* From which fantastic interpretation, all the wild visions of Hutchinson, and his cabalistic followers, seem to have arisen. Nor are the Freethinkers much behind them in absurdities. "Some," says Tindal, "would be almost "apt to imagine that the author of the book of GENE-"SIS thought that words had ideas naturally fixed to "them, and not by consent; otherwise, say they, how "can we account for his supposing that God brought "all animals before Adam, as soon as he was created, "to give them names; and that *whatsoever Adam "called every living creature, that was the name there-"of?*" [Christianity as old as the Creation, 8vo. ed. p. 228.] But though Moses *thought* no such thing, I can tell him of one who did: A very ancient writer, and frequently quoted by the men of this tribe to confront with Moses, I mean HERODOTUS; who not only thought this, but thought still more absurdly, that *Ideas had*

had words naturally affixed to them. See the famous tale of Psammetichus and his two boys, lib. ii. How would these men have rejoiced to catch Moses at the same advantage!—To conclude. From what hath been said, it appears, that God taught man, language: yet we cannot reasonably suppose it to be any other than what served his present use: after this, he was able of himself to improve and enlarge it, as his future occasions should require: consequently the first language must needs be very poor and narrow.

P. 135. [AA] "How many commands did God give "his Prophets, which, if taken according to the letter, "seem unworthy of God, as making them act like mad-"men or idiots? As for instance, the prophet *Isaiah* "*walked for three years together naked for a sign*; "Jeremiah is commanded *to carry his girdle as far as* "*Euphrates,—to make bands and yokes, &c.*—Ezekiel "is commanded *to draw Jerusalem on a tile*, &c. &c." [Tindal's Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 229.] *The prophet Jeremiah* (says a learned writer) *is ordered to buy a girdle*, &c.—*He is also sent about with yokes*—*Ezekiel besieges a pan-tile.—He shaves his head and beard.—No reasonable man can believe these actions were really performed.* See Dissertation on the History and Character of Balaam.

P. 135. [BB] —Quemadmodum autem vidit in visionibus [Propheta] quod jussus fuerit [Ezech. cap. viii.] fodere in pariete, ut intrare et videre posset, quid intùs faciant. quod foderit, per foramen ingressus fuerit, et viderit id quod vidit; ita quoque id quod dictum est ad eum. *Et tu sume tibi laterem*, &c. [Ezech. cap. iv.] quod item alibi ei dictum legitur, *Novaculam hanc tonsoriam cape tibi*, [Ezech. cap. v.] ita, inquam, ista omnia in visione prophetiæ facta sunt, ac vidit, vel visum fuit ipsi, se ista opera facere, quæ ipsi præcipiebantur. Absit enim ut Deus prophetas suos stultis vel ebriis similes reddat, eosque stultorum aut furiosorum actiones facere jubeat. More Nev. p. ii. cap. 46. But here the author's reasoning is defective,—because what Ezekiel saw in the *chambers of imagery* in his eighth chapter was in vision,

vision, therefore his *delineation of the plan of the siege*, and the *shaving his beard*, in the fourth and fifth chapters, were likewise in vision. But to make this illation logical, it is necessary that the circumstance in the eighth, and the circumstances in the fourth and fifth, be shewn to be specifically the same; but examine them, and we shall find them very different: that in the eighth was to shew the Prophet the excessive idolatry of Jerusalem, by a sight of the very idolatry itself; those in the fourth and fifth, were to convey the will of God, by the Prophet to the people, in a symbolic action. Now in the first case, as we have shewn above, the information was properly by vision, and fully answered the purpose, namely, the Prophet's information; but, in the *latter*, a vision had been improper; for a vision to the prophet was of itself no information to the people.

P. 137. [CC] The general moral, which is of great importance, and is inculcated with all imaginable force, is, that weak and worthless men are ever most forward to thrust themselves into power; while the wise and good decline rule, and prize their native ease and freedom above all the equipage and trappings of grandeur. The vanity of base men in power is taught in the fifteenth verse, and the ridicule of that vanity is inimitably marked out in those circumstances; where the *bramble* is made to bid his new subjects, who wanted no shadow, to *come and put their trust in his*, who had none; and that, in case of disobedience, he would send out from himself *a fire that should devour the cedars of Lebanon*, whenas *the fire of brambles*, and such like trash, was short and momentary even to a proverb, amongst the Easterns.—TINDAL, speaking of the necessity of the application of reason to scripture, in order to a right understanding of those passages in the Old Testament, where God speaks, or is spoken of, after the manner of men, as being *jealous, angry, repentant, reposing, &c.* (Modes of expression very apposite, where the subject is God's moral government of the world; very necessary, where it is his civil government of a particular people.) Tindal, I say, brings this in, amongst his instances—*Wine, that cheereth God and man*; as if Jotham had meant

meant God, the governor of the universe; when all, who can read antiquity, must see his meaning to be, that *wine cheereth hero-gods and common men.* For Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, which *ran a whoring after Baalim, and made Baalberith their god*; a god sprung from amongst men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from divers other circumstances of the story. But our critic, who could not see the sense, it is certain, saw nothing of the beauty of the expression; which contains one of the finest strokes of ridicule in the whole apologue, so much abounding with them; and insinuates to the Shechemites the vanity and pitiful original of their idolatrous gods, who were thought to be, or really had been, *refreshed with wine.* Hesiod tells us, in a similar expression, *that the vengeance of the fates pursued the crimes of gods and men:*

Αἵτ' ΑΝΔΡΩΝ τε ΘΕΩΝ τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπωσαι,
Οὐδέποτε λήγωσι θεαὶ δεινοῖο χόλοιο,
Πρίν γ' ἀπὸ τῷ δώωσι κακὴν ὅπιν ὅστις ἁμάρτῃ.
ΘΕΟΓ. ver. 220.

P. 137. [DD] Judges ix. 7. COLLINS, the author of the Scheme of literal Prophecy considered, speaking of Dean Sherlock's interpretation of Gen. iii. 15. says—"What the Dean just now said is nothing but an argument from the pretended absurdity of the literal sense, "that supposes the most plain matter of fact to be "*fable, or parable, or allegory*; though it be suited to "the notions of the Ancients, *who thought that beasts* "*had, in the first ages of the world, the use of speech,* "agreeable to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's "ass, and told after a *simple historical manner*, like *all* "*the relations* in the Old Testament, wherein there is "nothing savours of *allegory*, and *every thing is plainly* "*and simply exposed.*" p. 234. By this it appears that Mr. Collins thought that *fable, parable*, and *allegory*, were the same mode of speech, whereas they are very different modes. A *fable* was a story familiarly told, without any pretended foundation of fact, with design to persuade the hearers of some truth in question; a *parable* was the same kind of story, more obscurely delivered;

livered; an *allegory* was the relation of a real fact, delivered in symbolic terms: Of this kind was the story of the FALL: a real fact, told allegorically. According to Mr. Collins, it is a *fable* to be understood literally, because *it was suited to the notions of the ancients, who thought that beasts had, in the first ages of the world, the use of speech.* By the Ancients he must mean, if he means any thing to the purpose, those of the Mosaic age: and this will be news. His authority is, in truth, an authentic one! It is Balaam's ass.—*Agreeable*, says he, *to what is related in the Bible of Balaam's ass, and told after a simple historical manner.* Now the Bible, to which he so confidently appeals, expressly tells us, that Balaam had the gift of prophecy; that an angel intervened; and that God Almighty opened the ass's mouth. But however he is pleased to conceal the matter, he had a much better proof that *the Ancients thought beasts had the use of speech in the first ages of the world* than *Balaam's ass*; and that was ESOP'S FABLES. And this might have led him rather to the story of Jotham, so plainly and simply exposed, that, had not only the *serpent*, but the *tree of knowledge* likewise spoken, he could have given a good account of the matter, by Jotham's fable; *told after a simple historical manner, like all the relations in the Old Testament.* A great improvement, believe me, this, to his discovery,—*that the ancients thought not only that beasts, but that trees spoke in the first ages of the world.* The *Ancients!* an' please you. It is true, they delighted in fabulous traditions. But what then? they had always the sense to give a sufficient cause to every effect. They never represented things out of nature, but when placed there by some God, who had nature in his power. Even Homer, the father of fables, when he makes the horses of Achilles speak, or feel human passions, thinks it not enough to represent them as stimulated by a God, without informing us, that they themselves were of a cœlestial and immortal race.

P. 140. [EE] This account shews how ridiculously the critics were employed in seeking out the inventor of the Apologue; they might as well have sought for the inventor

inventor of the Metaphor, and carried their *researches* still further, and with Sancho Pancha inquired after the inventor of eating and drinking.

P. 142. [FF]—Καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν τοῖς ἱερεύσι συνῆν, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐξέμαθε, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φωνήν. Γραμμάτων δὲ τρισσὰς διαφορὰς, ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ τε, καὶ ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΩΝ, καὶ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΙΚΩΝ· τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνιγμές. De Vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. xi. & xii. pag. 15. Ed. Kusteri.—Holstenius translates τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνιγμὲς, in this manner:—"Quorum illud *propriam & communem* "*loquendi consuetudinem* imitatur; *reliqua* per allegorias "sub quibusdam ænigmatum involucris sensum expri-"munt." By which, it seems, he understood τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καθὰ μίμησιν to be an explanation of the nature of *epistolary writing*; and τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων καθά τινας αἰνιγμὲς, of the nature both of *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic*; whereas the first words are an explanation of hieroglyphic writing, and the second only of symbolic. For Porphyry having named three kinds of writing, the first common to all people; the two other peculiar, at that time, to the Egyptians; when he comes to speak of their natures, he judiciously omits explaining the *epistolary*, which all the world knew, and confines his discourse to the *hieroglyphic* and *symbolic*. But was it, as Holstenius thought, that he explained the nature of the *epistolary* in the words τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων, &c. then has he entirely omitted the proper *hieroglyphic* (for the τῶν δὲ ἀλληγορεμένων, &c. relates only to the *symbolic*); which had been an unpardonable fault. But that this is Holstenius's mistake is further seen by the next passage from Clemens Alexandrinus: for what Porphyry calls *hieroglyphical and symbolical*, Clemens calls *hieroglyphical*; using hieroglyphical as a generic term, which Porphyry used as a specific. Clemens, I say, giving an account of the nature of hieroglyphic writing, tells us it was of two sorts; the one, ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΜΗΣΙΝ, *directly and simply imitates the thing intended to be represented*; by this he meant the proper hieroglyphic

phic (which Porphyry, in his enumeration of the kinds, distinguishes from the *symbolic*); and what is more, Porphyry seems to have borrowed his expression of τῶν μὲν κοινολογεμένων καὶὰ μίμησιν, from Clemens's κυριολογεῖται καὶὰ μίμησιν, by which this latter evidently means to express the nature of the proper hieroglyphic. Besides, Clemens, who gives the nature of epistolary writing, with the same judgment that Porphyry omitted giving it, describes it in a very different manner, and with great propriety, thus, ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ. Yet a learned writer, supported by the authority of Holstenius, which served his purpose in an argument for the low antiquity of Egypt, would persuade us that *Porphyry did not mean by the expression* κοινολογέμενα καὶὰ μίμησιν, *that the characters he spoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them*; FOR *that was not the* μίμησις *which the ancient writers ascribed to* LETTERS. [Sacr. and Prof. Hist. of the World connect. vol. ii. p. 296.] This argument is a *Petitio Principii*; which supposes Porphyry to be here describing epistolary writing. On this supposition the writer says, *that the imitation of the forms or figures of things is not the* μίμησις *the ancient writers ascribed to letters.* Certainly it is not. But Porphyry is not speaking of the letters, but of hieroglyphic figures: therefore μίμησις does here, and may any where, mean (because it is the literal sense of the word) imitation of the figure of things. However, let us consider his criticism on this word, though it makes so little to his purpose:—Socrates in Plato says, it seems, ὁ διὰ τῶν συλλαβῶντι καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν ἰδίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ΑΠΟΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ· and *the ancients*, the learned writer tells us, *were exceeding philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters: when a word or sound was thought fully to express, according to their notions, the thing which it was designed to be the name of, then they called it the* εἰκὼν, *or picture of that thing.* The ancients were, without doubt, wonderfully profound; if we will believe Kircher and his school: but if a plain man may be heard, all the mystery of μίμησις and εἰκὼν was simply this: Alphabetic letters, as we have observed, sprung from

from hieroglyphic characters; and even received their form from thence. Now the ancients, as was very natural, when they spoke of the power of letters, and of words composed of letters, frequently transferred the terms μίμησις and εἰκών, to these, which properly belonged to hieroglyphic characters: a plain proof of this is the very word ἀπομιμέομαι, quoted by the learned writer from Plato; which literally signifies, *to imitate from an exemplar*, but figuratively, to *express*, at large: So πλάσμα originally signified any thing formed and fashioned by art; traductively, a similitude in speech, nay, the musical modulation of the voice. There is a remarkable passage in Plutarch's discourse of the *Pythian prophetess no longer rendering her prophecies in verse*; where the word πλάσμα is generally thought to be used in the first of these traductive senses, but I think it must be understood in the second; speaking of the ancient manner of delivering the oracles, he says,—οὐκ ἀνήδυντον, οὐδὲ λιτὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ὄγκῳ καὶ ΠΛΑΣΜΑΤΙ καὶ μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων, καὶ μετ' αὐλοῦ. M. Le Clerc, [De Prophetia, pag. 18. tom. iv. Comm. in V. T.] translates the latter part thus, pedibus vincta, tumida, *quæsitis & tralatitiis verbis* constantia, & cum tibia pronunciata. But πλάσματι signifies here, not *quæsitis verbis*, but that modulation of the voice which we may call *placida conformatio*, and is opposed to ὄγκῳ, a contrary modulation of the voice, which may be called *gravis conformatio*. These two were used in the theatre (to which the matter is compared) in a kind of *recitative* on the flute: so that what Plutarch would say, is this, that the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verse, and in a pompous figurative style, but, were sung likewise to the flute. To ὄγκῳ and πλάσματι he opposed ἀνήδυντον, in the sense of *untunable*; and to μεταφοραῖς ὀνομάτων he opposed λιτὴν, *plain, simple*. Plutarch uses πλάσμα again in the sense of *conformatio*, where speaking of the elocution of Pericles, he calls it ΠΛΑΣΜΑ φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, *a composed modulation of voice*. But Quintilian employs it in the very sense in question, to express *a soft and delicate modulation of voice*. Sit autem imprimis lectio virilis & cum suavitate quadam gravis, & non quidem prosæ similis, quia carmen est, & se poetæ canere testantur.

Non

Non tamen in canticum dissoluta, nec PLASMATE (ut nunc a plerisque fit) effœminata. l. i. c. 14. Hence again, in another traduction, *plasma* was used to signify a certain medicine, that speakers in public took to render their voice soft and harmonious:

> Sede leges celsa, *liquido* cum *plasmate* guttur
> Mobile conlueris—Pers. Sat. i. ver. 17.

Turnebus, not attending to this progressive change in the sense of words, and taking his signification of *plasma* from the passage of Quintilian, supposed that *plasma*, in this place of the poet, signifies not a medicament, but a soft and delicate modulation of the voice.—Est cùm molli & tenera fictaque vocula poema eliquaverit udo gutture. Est enim *plasma*, ut alio loco docui, cum vox est tenera & mollis. On the other hand, Lubin, who had taken his signification of *plasma* from this place, will needs have the same word in the passage quoted above from Quintilian to signify not a soft and delicate modulation of the voice, but a medicament. Turnebi hujus loci explicatio, l. xxviii. c. 26. Adversar. mihi non placet, & hoc Quintiliani loco refutatur. Comment. in Pers.

P. 142. [GG] κατ' οἰκειότητα μεταλαβοῦσι καὶ μεταλιθέντες. That is, as I understand it, represented one thing by another, which other hath qualities bearing relation or analogy to the thing represented.

P. 142. [HH] ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. The Latin translator keeps close to his original, *anaglyphicis describunt*; and Stanley, [Lives of Phil. p. 350. ed. 3d.] *they write by anaglyphics:* as if this was a new species of writing, now first mentioned by Clemens, and to be added to the other three: whereas, I suppose, it was Clemens's intention only to tell us that tropical symbols were chiefly to be met with on their stone monuments, engraven in relief: which was true.

P. 142. [II] Αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδευόμενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων μέθοδον ἐκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ καλουμένην· δευτέραν δὲ, τὴν ΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ,

ΤΙΚΗΝ, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· ὑςάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν τὴν ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΗΝ, ἧς ἡ μὲν ἐςι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ςοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική· τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς ἡ μὲν κυριολογεῖται κατὰ μίμησιν· ἡ δ' ὥσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀλληγορεῖται καλά τινας αἰνίγμας. Ἥλιον γὰρ γράψαι βελόμενοι, κύκλον ποιοῦσι· Σελήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνοειδὲς, καλὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος· τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οικειότητα μεταγούσες καί μεταλιθένες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττουσες· τὰ δὲ, πολλαχῶς μεταςχηματίζουσες, χαράττουσιν· τὰς γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαίνους θεολογεμένοις μύθοις παραδιδόντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων· τὰ δὲ καλὰ τὰς αἰνίγματς, τρίτα εἴδες, δεῖγμα ἔςω τόδε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄςρων, διὰ τὴν πορείαν τὴν λοξὴν, ὀφεων σώμασιν ἀπεικαζον· τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον, τῷ τὰ καυθάρῳ. ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς ἐκ τῆς βοείης ὄυθε σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀνιπρόσωπος κυλίνδει. Strom. lib. v. p. 555, 556. Ed Morell,—ἧς ἡ μὲν ἐςι διὰ τῶν πρώτων ςοιχείων κυριολογική. ἡ δὲ, συμβολική, the Latin translator turns thus, *Cujus una quidem est per prima elementa* κυριολογικὴ, *id est, proprie loquens; altera vero symbolica, id est, per signa significans.* This is so faithfully translated, that it preserves the very ambiguity of the original, and leaves us still to guess at the author's division. Marsham takes it just wrong; and so does his nephew Stanley; the first of these learned men quotes and translates the passage thus: *Triplex erat apud Ægyptios characterum ratio,* Ἐπιςολογραφικὴ, *ad scribendas epistolas apta, sive vulgaris;* Ἱερατικὴ, *qua utuntur* Ἱερογραμματεῖς, *qui de rebus sacris scribunt, &* Ἱερογλυφικὴ, *sacra sculptura;* HUJUS *duæ sunt species,* Κυριολογικὴ, *proprie loquens* per prima elementa, *&* Συμβολικὴ, *per signa* [Can. Chron. p 38. Franeq. Ed.] The second thus,—*the last and most perfect,* hieroglyphical; WHEREOF *one is* curiologic, *the other* symbolic. [Lives of Phil. p. 329. 3d ed.] By this interpretation, the learned Father is, 1. made to enumerate three kinds of writing, but to explain only the last, namely, *hieroglyphics*; 2. which is worse, he is made to say one kind of hieroglyphics was by letters of an alphabet; for that is the meaning of διὰ τῶν πρώτων ςοιχείων: 3. which is still worse, he is made to divide hieroglyphics into two sorts, *curiologic* and *symbolic*; and *symbolic* into three sorts, *curiologic, tropical* and *allegorical*; which makes the prior division into curiologic and symbolic, inaccurate and absurd;

and spreads a general confusion over the whole passage. Their mistake seems to have arisen from supposing μεθόδε ἱερογλυφικῆς (the *immediate antecedent*) was understood at ἧς ἡ μέν ἐστι; whereas it was the more *remote antecedent*, μεθόδε Αἰγυπτίων γραμμάτων; and what made them suppose this, was, I presume, the author's expressing the common plain way of writing by letters of an alphabet, and the common plain way of imitating by figures (two very different things) by the same words, κυριολογικὴ and κυριολογεῖται; not considering that διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, joined to the adjective, signified writing by letters; and, κατὰ μίμησιν, joined to the verb, signified *writing by figures*. In a word then, the plain and easy meaning of Clemens is this,—"The Egyptian "method of writing was epistolic, sacerdotal, and hiero- "glyphical; of this method, the epistolic and sacerdotal "were by letters of an alphabet; the hieroglyphical, by "symbols: symbols were of three kinds, curiologic, "tropical, and allegorical."

P. 143. [KK] This was indeed a very logical conclusion from the opinion *that hieroglyphics were invented to hide mysteries*; but the high improbability of the fact should have led them, one would think, to the falsehood of the premisses. That the Egyptians had *letters* before they had *hieroglyphics*, seems to me as extravagant as that they danced before they could walk; and, I believe, will seem so to all who consider the first part of this dissertation. However, a modern writer has taken up that opinion: and tells us in plain terms, that *the hieroglyphical way of writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt*; [Connect. of the Sacr. and Prof. Hist. vol. i. p. 230. and again to the same purpose, vol. ii. 293, 294.] partly, I presume, as it favoured the hypothesis of the low antiquity of Egypt; and partly, perhaps, in compliment to that consequential notion, that not only all arts and sciences came from the Hebrews, but all the vehicles of knowledge likewise; whence, particularly, the author of the *Court of the Gentiles* derives hieroglyphics. *The greatest pieces of the Jewish wisdom*, says Mr. Gale, *were couched under the cover of symbols and types; whence the Egyptians and other nations borrowed their hieroglyphic and symbolic wisdom.* [Part i. p. 77.]

p. 77.] But on what ground does the author of the *Connection* build, in support of his opinion? On this, that *letters* are very ancient; in which, without doubt, he is right: but surely not so ancient as he would have them. However, the Argument he uses is certainly a very perverse one: *There is one consideration more*, says he, *which makes it very probable that the use of* LETTERS *came from Noah, and out of the first world, and that is the account which the Chinese give of their* LETTERS. *They assert their first emperor, whom they name* Fohy, *to be the inventor of them; before* Fohy *they have no records, and their* Fohy *and* Noah *were the same person.* [vol. i. p. 236.] Now it unluckily happens that the Chinese are without LETTERS, even to this day. Nor are we, for all this, to think our author ignorant of the nature of the Chinese characters; for he tells us soon after, that *the Chinese have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make use of characters to express their meaning. Their characters are not designed to express words, for they are used by several neighbouring nations who differ in language.* [p. 244.] Thus the learned writer, before he was aware, in endeavouring to prove *letters* of higher antiquity than *hieroglyphics*, hath proved just the contrary; even that hieroglyphic characters, not letters, were the writing so early as his Noah: For the Chinese characters are properly hieroglyphics, that is, marks for *things*, not *words*; and *hieroglyphics* they are called by all the missionaries from whom we have the most authentic accounts of China. But had their characters been indeed *letters*, as our author, in this place, by mistake supposed them, yet still his argument would have had no weight; and I will beg leave to tell him why: The Chinese characters in use at present are very modern in comparison of the monarchy. The missionaries tell us (as may be seen by the quotations given above) that the Chinese character hath undergone several changes; that their first way of writing was, like the Mexican, by picture; that they then abbreviated it in the manner of the most ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; and at length brought it, by many gradual improvements, to its present contracted form: yet a *real character* or *hieroglyphic* the Chinese writing still is; and so is likely to continue.

P. 145. [LL] A late curious Voyager, who had examined the larger PYRAMIDS with great exactness, and found no hieroglyphics inscribed upon them, either without or within, concludes, rather too hastily, that they were built before the use of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt; and from thence insinuates another conclusion, in favour of the absurd hypothesis here confuted, that hieroglyphics were not the first species of writing known in Egypt; and, consequently, did not come from picture-writing, but from alphabetic marks; a foolish error, which betrays great ignorance in the natural progress of human knowledge. "Si je suppose (says Captain Norden) que "les Pyramides, même les dernieres, ont été elevées avant "que l'on eût l'usage des hieroglyphes, je ne l'avance "sans fondement. Qui pourroit se persuader, que les "Egyptiens eussent laissé ces superbes monumens, sans "la moindre inscription hieroglyphique, eux, qui, comme "on l'observe de toutes parts, prodigueoient les hiero"glyphes sur tous les edifices de quelque consideration? "Or on n'en apperçoit aucun, ni au dedans, ni au de"hors, des pyramides, pas même sur les ruines des "temples de la seconde et de la troisieme pyramide: "n'est ce pas une preuve que l'origine des pyramides "précéde celle des hieroglyphes, que l'on regarde neanmoins comme les premiers caracteres dont on ait usé "en Egypte."—Voyage d'Egypte, 3me partie, p. 75.

The curious voyager not only satisfies himself in accounting for the want of hieroglyphic characters on the Pyramids, by their being built before the invention of such characters, but seems to value himself upon a discovery resulting from it, that *Hieroglyphics were not the first sort of writing in Egypt*. But there is a greater difficulty in this matter than he was aware of.

It hath been proved at large, that *marks for things*, by a kind of picture-writing, were the first rude effort of every people upon earth, to convey and perpetuate their intelligence and conceptions to one another, as soon as they began to associate into tribes and nations. The Monuments in question are a proof that the erectors of them had advanced in the arts of civil life. No one then, who understands what Society is, can doubt but that the Egyptians had then a method of conveying their thoughts

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at a distance, by visible marks: and no one, acquainted with the slow progress of human inventions, can imagine that alphabetic writing was the first effort towards this conveyance. Hence arises the difficulty.

But this observation of the curious voyager, which furnishes the difficulty, supplies the solution. Suppose only the Pyramids to be erected in the interval between the inventions of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics, that is, between their natural and more artificial state, and the difficulty vanishes: For in their natural state, they would be only used out of necessity; and not for ornament, luxury, or decoration. So that it is no wonder we do not find them on the PYRAMIDS in pompous and flattering inscriptions like those on the OBELISKS.

His observation, Norden indeed gives, as a proof of the high antiquity of the pyramids; and very justly. But his drawings furnish us with another argument in support of this truth, which he himself seems not to have considered: It is this, that the general idea of Egyptian architecture was entirely taken from the PYRAMIDS: which nothing sure but the high veneration for them, increased by their remote antiquity, could possibly have occasioned; since the figure of these sepulchral monuments, so well adapted to triumph over time, is the most inconvenient that can possibly be imagined for habitable structures, whether public or private; and exceedingly grotesque, in all others. And yet we see, from the ancient ruins of Egypt, of which this diligent and exact Traveller has given us so fine drawings, that all their buildings, without exception, were raised on the idea and genius of the Pyramids. We are surprised to find not only their ports, their door-steads [See plates CIX.—CXVIII.] but even the very walls of their temples, [Pl. CXLVII.—VIII. —CLI.—CLIV.] nay, of their towns, narrowing upwards and inclining inwards, in the manner of a modern fortification. [Pl. XCIX.—CXV.—CXXXVIII.]—But to return to the solution given above: It may be said, perhaps, "Allow the pyramids to have been erected in the interval between the invention of *curiologic* and *tropical* hieroglyphics. What hindered the Egyptians from scribbling over these bulky monuments with their first rude essays, as other barbarous nations have done upon

their rocks? of which we find specimens enough in Scandinavia, North-East Tartary, and elsewhere." Indeed I know of nothing but CUSTOM that hindered them; that sovereign Mistress of the world, who only is of force to control and conquer Nature: And that Custom did effectually hinder them, is very plain, from our finding no specimens of any of their first rude hieroglyphic paintings; though, from them, their improved hieroglyphics received their birth. Nor did they want, any more than other Barbarians, their isolated rocks for this purpose: they had them very commodiously bordering on the Nile, and in view of all passengers. And on these, it is remarkable, they have inscribed their improved hieroglyphics, though we see no remains of any the earlier and ruder efforts of picture-writing.

But the modesty and reserve of this curious Traveller, and his deference to learned Antiquity, deserves commendation. He is not of the number of those who expect more faith from their Reader than they commonly find, or venture to entertain him with discoveries which he did not expect. For the learned reader acquiesces in Antiquity; the sensible reader prefers the evidence of a contemporary writer to the conjectures of a modern traveller: yet such is the general humour of our Voyagers, that they think they do nothing, if they do not rectify the errors of Antiquity. I have an ingenious measurer of the Pyramids in my eye, and one of the latest too [Dr. Shaw], who, in the passion for saying something new, assures us, that the opinion of their being SEPULCHRES is an old inveterate mistake: that they are indeed no other than TEMPLES, for religious worship. To soften so rugged a paradox, he says, *there was no universal consent amongst the Ancients concerning the use or purpose for which these Pyramids were designed.* And was there any *universal consent* amongst them that snow was white? But would this save the modesty or understanding of him who should affirm, after a certain ancient Philosopher, that it was black? And yet such a one would have the advantage of our Traveller; who would be hard put to it to produce any Ancient, whether Philosopher or otherwise, who said the Pyramids were *Temples.* But if the positive and agreeing testimony of all the old writers extant may be called *universal*

versal consent, it certainly is not wanting. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, &c. all assure us that the Pyramids were *Sepulchres*. Nay, Diodorus, to put the matter out of doubt, informs us, that the sacred commentaries of their Priests said so. But our Traveller supposed this universal consent to be shaken at least by Pliny, who tells us, *they were built for ostentation, and to keep an idle people in employment*. As if this intimated that, in Pliny's opinion, they were not Sepulchres! Suppose I should say the great Arch at Blenheim was *built for ostentation*; and if not to set an idle people to work, yet at least to make them stare: Does this contradict the universal consent of its being a Bridge, though as much too large for the water that runs under it, as the Pyramids were for the bodies contained in them? In a word, Pliny is not speaking of the *use* to which the buildings were applied, but of the *motives* for their erection.

P. 149. [MM] Against this, a late furious writer objects—"But is it credible that the polite and learned "priests of Egypt would use a method to hide and secrete "their knowledge, which the more rude and barbarous "nations employed to publish and divulge theirs? Or "can you conceive that a curious and studied refine-"ment of so knowing and enlightened a people as the "Egyptians should be one and the very same thing "with a rude and simple invention of those nations "which were most barbarous and uncivilized?" Jackson's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 357.

I answer by another question—Is it credible that the polite and learned orators and historians of Greece and Rome should, out of choice, use a method [FIGURATIVE EXPRESSION] to perfect their eloquence, which the first rude and barbarous nation employed out of necessity, and which rude and barbarous nations still employ, for want of intellectual ideas, and more abstract terms? Or can *you conceive, that a curious and studied refinement* of dress, *in so knowing and enlightened a people* as the present French, *should be one and the same thing with the rude and simple invention* of leathern garments to cover nakedness amongst the Laplanders, a people most barbarous and uncivilized? But if it displeases our Chronologist,

that so enlightened and refined a people as the Egyptians should pride themselves in the rude and simple invention of barbarians: what will he say to find, that the most savage people upon earth go a step beyond the most polished in the delicacy and luxury of speech? Yet this is the case of the Greenlanders, or the missionary Egede deceives us. *The women* (says he) *have a dialect different from the men, making use of the softest letters at the ends of words, instead of the hard ones.* Hist. of Greenland, p. 160.

P. 150. [NN] This hieroglyphic likewise signified the *earth*; for the first rude mortals imagined, that that which sustained them was the Deity which gave them Being. So Hesiod, who took his notions of the *earth* from the Egyptians, describes her after their paintings; ΓΑΙ' ΕΥΡΥΣΤΕΡΝΟΣ, which the figure of the Diana multimammia well explains. But Shakspeare, who, as Mr. Pope finely observes, had *immediately from nature what the two Greek poets, Homer and Hesiod, received through Egyptian strainers*, paints this famous *hieroglyphic* with much more life and spirit:

- - - - - - - - "Common Mother thou!
"Whose womb unmeasurable and INFINITE BREAST
"Teems and feeds all."

That Hesiod had there the Egyptian Goddess in his mind, is plain from the character he gives of her in the words subjoined,

- - - πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἀθανάτων,

for the *earth* was the first habitation of those Gods which *Greece* borrowed of the *Egyptians:* from whence, as the poet insinuates, they were transferred into heaven:

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἶσον ἑαυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτοι,
Ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί.

P. 152. [OO] A very curious specimen of this hasty delineation of the outlines of the figures (which gave birth to the running hand character we are here speaking of) the reader will find in Kircher p. 350. of his *Œdip. Ægypt.*

Ægypt. tom. iii. where he has given the charact rs on the Florentine obelisk, which, though dignified by that name, is only a late mimic in miniature of the superb monuments so intitled. See Plate VIII.

P. 152. [PP] The account which a missionary jesuit gives us of the several sorts of writing amongst the Chinese will illustrate this matter:—*Parmi ces caracteres il y en a de plusieurs sortes. Les premiers ne sont presque plus d'usage, & on ne les conserve que pour faire honneur à l'antiquité. Les seconds beaucoup moins anciens n'ont place que dans les inscriptions publiques: quand on en a besoin, on consulte les livres, & à la faveur des dictionnaires il est facile de les dechiffrer. Les troisiemes, beaucoup plus reguliers & plus beaux, servent dans l'impression et même dans l'ecriture ordinaire. Neanmoins comme les traits en sont bien formez,* il faut un temps considerable pour les écrire; c'est pour cela qu'on a trouvé une quatrieme espece d'ecriture, dont les traits plus liez & moins distinguez les uns des autres, donnent la facilité d'ecrire plus viste—*ces trois derniers caracteres ont entre eux beaucoup de ressemblance, et respondent assez à nos lettres capitales, aux lettres d'impression, et à l'ecriture ordinaire.*—*Nouveaux Memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine, par le P. L. Le Comte,* tom. i. *Amst.* 1698, pp. 258, 259. And here let me just take notice of a ridiculous mistake into which the equivocation of the word *Notæ* (a term signifying as well *short-hand* characters, as *hieroglyphical)* drew a certain learned grammarian: who in a letter to his friend [*Gloss. Ant. Rom.* p. 414. ed. 1731] undertaking to give the original of *short-hand characters*, rejects the account of the ancients (which makes them a Roman invention) to fetch them from the Barbarians; and will have them to be indeed the same as the *Ignorabiles Literæ* of the Egyptians (mentioned by Apuleius) and the present Chinese characters; that is, real *hieroglyphics.* But had he considered, that the *notes of short-hand* were marks for *words*, and the *notes of hieroglyphics* marks for *things*, he would have seen that they had no manner of relation to one another, but were of different original, and employed to different ends:

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He thinks, however, he has found a support for his notion in St. Jerom; who, he says, tells us somewhere or other, that they came from the Barbarians: *Restant adhuc* NOTÆ, *quæ cum ex Barbarorum puto ortu natæ sint, rationem amisere.* But without searching for the place, and recurring to the context, we may safely pronounce, that St. Jerom meant here by NOTÆ, not *the notes of short-hand*, but *hieroglyphic notes*; by his saying of them *rationem amisere*; which was not true of *short-hand notes*, but very true of *hieroglyphical.*

P. 154. [QQ] To this, perhaps, it may be objected that *literary writing* had the name of *epistolary*, rather for its being afterwards employed in such kind of compositions; because Clemens Alexandrinus says, *That Atossa the Persian empress was the first that wrote epistles*; and Tatian, where he gives a list of some Inventors, expresses himself, from Hellanicus the historian, in this manner, Ἐπιστολὰς ΣΥΝΤΑΣΣΕΙΝ ἐξεῦρεν ἡ Περσῶν πόλις ἡγησαμένη γυνὴ, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἑλλάνικος, Ἄτοσσα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ ἦν. But to this it may be replied, that the supposition of literary writing's having the name of *epistolary* from any later application of alphabetic letters to this sort of composition, is very precarious: for it may be asked, why rather a name from *epistles* than from any nobler sort of composition, in which we must needs conclude letters had been employed, before the use of epistles, if epistles were so lately invented? But the truth is, if by συνλάσσειν, which word Clemens likewise uses, we are to understand the *composing*, and not the *artificial closing and sealing* up of the tablets in which the Ancients wrote their epistles (the more natural sense of the word, and an invention more to the genius of a court lady) we must needs say the whole story of Atossa's invention is a very idle *one*, and worth only the attention of such triflers as the writers *Of the invention of things*; from whence Tatian and Clemens had it: they might as well have enquired after the inventors of *speech*: writing epistles being as early as the occasions of communicating the thoughts at a distance; that is, as early as human commerce. We find in the *Il. ζ.* ver. 169, Bellerophon carrying an epistle from Prætus

to

to Iobates. "No, says a great Critic, [see p. 539. "of the *Dissertation upon Phalaris*] this was no epistle, "as Pliny rightly remarks, but *codicilli*; and Homer "himself calls it πίναξ πλυτὸς." I do not comprehend the force of the learned person's argument; the point between him and his noble adversary was concerning the *thing*, not the *name*; but Pliny's observation, and his own, is concerning the *name*, not the *thing*. Let what *Bellerophon* carried be πίναξ πλυτὸς, *small leaves of wood covered with wax, and written upon by a pen of metal*, yet was it essentially an *epistle*, if Cicero's definition of an *epistle* be a true one: "*Hoc est*, says he, *Epistolæ proprium, ut is ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus quas ignorant, certior fiat.* Why Pliny said, this πίναξ πλυτὸς was not an *epistle*, but a *codicil*, was because small leaves of wood covered with wax, when written on, were called by his countrymen *codicilli*; and a missive-paper, *epistola:* that this was his meaning appears from the account he gives of the pretended *paper epistle of Sarpedon* mentioned as a great rarity by Licinius Mucianus. [See the Dissert. mentioned above.]

P. 155. [RR] By *sonos vocis* Cicero means *words:* It was impossible he could ever conceive that brute and inarticulate sounds were almost infinite.—See what is said on this matter below.

Long before this addition was made to the discourse on Hieroglyphic writing, one of the ablest Philosophers of this age, M. l'Abbé de Condillac, in his Essai sur l'origine des connoissances humaines, had the candour to say, that I had perfectly well discovered the progress by which men arrived to the invention of letters. Cette section [De L'ecriture], says he, étoit presque achevée, quand l'Essai sur les Hieroglyphes traduit de l'Anglois de M. Warburton me tomba entre les mains: Ouvrage ou l'esprit philosophique et l'erudition réguent egalement, &c. mes propres reflexions m'avoient aussi conduit à remarquer que l'écriture n'avoit d'abord été qu'une simple peinture: mais je n'avois point encore tenté de découvrir par quels progrès on étoit arrivé à l'invention des lettres, et il me paroissoit difficile d'y reussir. La chose a été parfaitement executée par M. Warburton, p. 178.

sec.

sec. partie.—My own countrymen have been less candid: and to them the above addition is owing.

P. 150. [SS] Τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόη ἱερῶν γραμμάτων. In Vit. Democr. Segm. xlix. lib. 9. But Reinesius and Menage, not apprehending there was any sacred mysterious writing out of Egypt and its confines, will have the *Babylon* here mentioned to be Babylon in Egypt; but they should have reflected how unlikely it was, if Democritus had chosen to write of the *sacred letters of the Egyptians*, that he should denominate his discourse from a place not at all celebrated for their use, when there were so many other that these characters had rendered famous.

P. 162. [TT] I have the pleasure to find, that so sensible a writer as the celebrated Mr. Astruc, in his Conjectures sur la Genese, has espoused this opinion, that *alphabetic writing* was in use amongst the Egyptians before the time of Moses: He has likewise adopted the arguments here employed in support of it, as well as this whole theory of *hieroglyphic writing*.

P. 163. [UU] Exod. xxviii. 21. *And the stones shall be with the names of the children of* Israel, *twelve, according to their names*; LIKE THE ENGRAVINGS OF A SIGNET, *every one with his name shall they be, according to the twelve tribes.* And again, ver. 36. *And thou shalt make a Plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet,* HOLINESS TO THE LORD. Had letters been invented by MOSES, and unknown till then to the Israelites, would he not naturally have said, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and sentences on stones and gold,—*and in these engravings you shall employ the alphabetic characters which I have now invented and taught you the use of?* On the contrary, he gives them a very different direction; he refers them to a model in familiar use,—*like the engravings of a signet.* For the ancient people of the East engraved names and sentences on their seals, just as the Mahometan princes do at present.—Mr. Fleuri with great ingenuity confesses the high perfection

fection of the arts at this time amongst the Israelites. " Ils sçavoient tailler & graver les pierres precieuses. " Ils etoient Menuisiers, Tapissieurs, Brodeurs & Par- " fumeurs. Entre ces arts, il y en a deux que j'admire " principalement: la taille des pierreries, & la fonte " des figures, telles qu'étoient les Chérubins de l'Arche " & le Veau d'or. Ceux qui ont tant soit peu connois- " sance des arts, sçavent combien il faut d'artifices " & de machines pour ces ouvrages. Si des-lors on les " avoit trouvées, on avoit déja bien raffiné, même dans " les arts qui ne servent qu'à l'ornement; & si l'on " avoit quelque secret pour faire les mêmes choses plus " facilement, c'étoit encore une plus grande perfection, " ce qui soit dit en passant, pour montrer que cette an- " tiquité si eloignée n'etoit pas grossiére & ignorante, " comme plusieurs s'imaginent." Mœurs des Israelites, sect. 9.

P. 163. [XX] A certain anonymous writer, quoted by Crinitus from an ancient MS. in his *de honesta disciplina*, is of this opinion. But I quote him chiefly for his pacific disposition to accommodate and compromise matters, by giving every nation its share in the glory of the invention; not, I mean, of the alphabetic *powers*, but of the various alphabetic *characters:*

" Moses primus Hebraicas exaravit literas;
" Mente Phœnices sagaci condiderunt Atticas;
" Quas Latini scriptitamus, edidit Nicostrata;
" Abraham Syras, & idem repperit Chaldaicas;
" Isis arte non minore, protulit Ægyptiacas:
" Gulfila promsit Getarum, quas videmus, literas."

P. 171. [YY] Les Iroquois, comme les Lacedemoniens, veulent un discours vif & concis; leur Style est cependant figuré, & *tout metaphorique. Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparées aux Mœurs des premiers Temps, par Lafitau*, tom. i. p. 480. 4to. And of the various languages of all the people on that great continent in general, he expresseth himself thus, La plûpart de ces Peuples Occidentaux, quoiqu'avec des Langues tres differentes, ont cependant à peu pres la même genie, la même façon de penser, et les même tours pour s'exprimer; tom. ii. p. 481. *Condamine* gives pretty

pretty much the same account of the Savages of South America. Speaking of their languages he says, plusieurs sont energiques & susceptible d'eloquence, &c. p. 54. which can mean no other than that their terms are highly figurative. But this is the universal genius of the language of Barbarians. *Egede*, in his *History of Greenland*, says, *the Language is very rich of words and sense*; *and of such* ENERGY, *that one is often at a loss, and puzzled to render it in Danish.* p. 165. This *energy* is apparently what the French Missionary calls *tout metaphorique*. Quintilian, speaking of *metaphors*, says, Qua quidem cum ita est ab ipsa nobis concessa natura, ut indocti quoque ac non sentientes ea frequenter utantur, lib. viii. c. 6. which shews, by the way, that Quintilian did not apprehend their true cause or original. —By all this may be seen how much M. Bullet mistakes the matter, where, in his Memoires sur la langue Celtique, he says, " *Dans les pays chauds* une imagination " ardente decouvre aisement la plus petite ressemblance " qu'une chose peut avoir avec une autre. Elle voit " d'abord, par exemple, la report qui se trouve entre " un homme cruel & une bête feroce; et pour faire " connoitre qu'elle apperçoit cette ressemblance elle " donne à cet homme le nom de Tigre. *Voila l'origine* " *du langage figuré & metaphorique.* Dans *les pays* " *froides*, ou l'imagination n'a pas une vivacité pareille, " on se sert *de terms propres pour exprimer chaque* " *chose*, ou appelle tout par son nom." Vol. i. p. 6. But we find the fact to be just otherwise.

P. 171. [ZZ] Καὶ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας βραχυλόγοι, καὶ αἰνιγματίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αἰνιττόμενοι συνεκδοχικῶς πολλὰ δὲ λεγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς.—p. 213. This being the nature and genius common to all the barbarous nations upon earth, I am almost tempted to believe *Geoffry of Monmouth*, when he says, that he translated his worthy history of Britain from the Welsh; of which, his original, he gives this character;—*Phallerata verba & ampullosæ dictiones.* If this was not so, one can hardly tell why he should mention a circumstance that neither recommended his copy nor his original. But the character of the ballads of the old Welsh Bards fully supports Diodorus's account of the style of the ancient Gauls.

P. 172.

P. 172. [AAA] But the important use to which the very learned the Abbé *de Condillac* has employed all that has been here said on this matter, may be seen in his excellent Essay on the origin of human Knowledge, Part II. which treats of Language.

P. 172. [BBB] Quintilian makes an objector to the *figurative style* argue thus,—Antiquissimum quemque maxime secundum naturam dixisse contendunt; mox Poetis similiores extitisse, etiamsi parciùs, simili tamen ratione, falsa & impropria virtutes ducentes. On which he observes—qua in disputatione non nihil veri est.—It is true, there is *something of truth* in it, and indeed, not much; for though the polishers of human speech did, as the objector says, turn the improprieties of speech into ornament, it is utterly false that the most ancient speakers used only simple and proper terms.

P. 176. [CCC] So I thought: and so it has been generally thought. But M. de Beausobre, in his *Histoire de Manichée*, lib. iv. c. 4. has made it probable, that the heretics had no hand in these *Abraxas*, but that they are altogether Pagan.

P. 176. [DDD] This charm, which the Arabs called *Talisman* or *Tsalimam*, the later Greeks, when they had borrowed the superstition, called ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ; which shews of what house they supposed it to have come; στοιχεῖα being, as we have observed, the technical Greek name for *hieroglyphic* characters.

P. 176. [EEE] The same error has made the half-paganized Marsilius Ficinus fall into the idle conceit, that the *Golden Calf* was only a *Talisman*:—Hebræi quoque (says he) in Ægypto nutriti, struere vitulum aureum didicerant, ut eorundem astrologi putant, ad aucupandum veneris lunæque favorem, contra Scorpionis atque Martis influxum Judæis infestum. De Vita Cœlit. Com. l. iii. c. 13.

P. 177. [FFF] This Discourse on the EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS hath had the same fortune abroad, that

that the Discourse on the BOOK OF JOB hath had at home: Like this, it hath been the occasion of much waste paper, and violation of common sense. For the Discourse on the Hieroglyphics having been well translated and well received in France, both the *subject* and the *author* became known enough to invite all *gentlemen scholars*, better able to entertain the Public, to oblige us with their ingenious conjectures; and many a French pen, even to that of a captain of grenadiers, hath been drawn, to shew that the nature of Hieroglyphics is yet as unknown as ever. A nameless dissertator, *sur l'Ecriture Hieroglyphique*, (who chuses to write, as he himself very truly says, in his title-page,—*sub luce maligna*) assures us, that Hieroglyphics were not a species of writing to convey intelligence to the reader, but a mere ornament upon stone, to entertain the eye of the spectator: So there is an end of the SUBJECT. The learned captain, who wheels in a larger circle, and takes in all the wisdom of Egypt, laments with much humanity, the superficiality and ignorance of all who have gone before him, and their utter incapacity of getting to the source of things: So there is an end of the AUTHOR. Indeed, the Journalist who recommends this important work to the public seems to have his doubts as to this point—N'est ce pas s'avancer un peu trop, (says he), et peut-on dire que MARSHAM pour la Chronologie & l'Histoire, M. WARBURTON pour les Hieroglyphes, & d'autres sçavans ayent negligé de consulter les sources?

To say the truth, these wonderful investigators of the learning of ancient Egypt, by the mere dint of modern ingenuity, had *provocation* enough to fall upon this unlucky Discourse, which no sooner appeared amongst them in the fine translation of a very learned French lawyer, than the celebrated writers of the Journal des Sçavans, of March 1744, and of Trevoux, of July in the same year, announced it to the public in these terms. "Il regne (says the first) une si belle analogie dans le "systeme de Mr. Warburton, et toutes ses parties "tiennent les unes aux autres par un lien si naturel, "qu'on est porté à croire que l'origine, & les progrès "de l'ecriture & du language ont été tels qu'il les a de-"crits. Le public doit avoir bien de l'obligation au "Traduc-

" Traducteur de lui avoir fait connoitre un Ouvrage si " curieux."—" M. Warburton (says the other) n'a pu " sans une erudition profonde, une lecture murement " digerée et des reflexions infinies traiter avec tant de " precision, de justesse et de netteté, un sujet de lui " même si difficile à mettre en œuvre. Les plus savans " hommes se sont laissé seduire sur l'origine des Hiero- " glyphes; et la plupart ont regardé un effet du peu " d'experience des Egyptiens comme un refinement de " la plus mysterieuse sagesse. C'est cette erreur que " M. Warburton s'applique particulierement à detruire " dans la premiere partie. Il le fait de la maniere la " plus naturelle. Ce n'est point un systeme fondé SUR " DES IMAGINATIONS VAGUES. Ses raisonnemens, " ses preuves, sont appuiées sur des FAITS, sur la NA- " TURE des choses, & sur LES PRINCIPES LES PLUS " LUMINEUX DU SENS COMMUN."

P. 178. [GGG] Amongst the rest, the author of Sacred and Profane History connected; who says: " We " have no reason to think that these hieroglyphics " [namely, what we call the *curiologic*] were so ancient " as the first letters:" This is his first answer to the opinion that hieroglyphics were more ancient. His second is in these words: " They would have been a " very imperfect character; many, nay most occur- " rences, would be represented by them but by halves," vol. ii. p. 295. Now this to me appears a very good argument why *hieroglyphics* were indeed the *first* rude effort towards recording the human conceptions; and still, a better, why they could not be the *second*, when men had already found out the more complete method of alphabetic letters.

P. 179. [HHHH] What hath been said above of the reason why *Egypt* alone continued their *hieroglyphic* characters after the invention of *letters*, and why all other nations thenceforward left them off, will give an easy solution to what a curious traveller seems to think matter of some wonder, namely, that " the symbolic " learning was the only part of Egyptian wisdom not " translated into Greece." [Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 391.]

—But if this learned man meant not *hieroglyphic characters*, but only the *mode* of Egyptian wisdom employed therein, he raises a wonder out of his own mistake: that mode was *translated into Greece* with the rest; for the precepts of Pythagoras were a fantastic kind of *translation* of hieroglyphic pictures into verbal propositions; and on that account, doubtless, called SYMBOLS:— Μάλιστα (says Plutarch) δὲ ἅτ[ερ] [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ὡς ἔοικε, θαυμασθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας τὰς ἄνδρας, ἀπεμιμήσαλο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ μυστηριῶδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγμαλα· τῶν γὰρ καλεμένων γραμμάτων ἱερογλυφικῶν ἔθεν ἀπολείπει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν παραγγελμάτων, οἷον ἐστι τὸ Μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐπὶ δίφρου μηδ' ἐπὶ χοίνικ[ος] καθῆσθαι, μηδὲ φοίνικα φυλέυειν, μηδὲ πῦρ μαχαίρῃ σκαλεύειν ἐν οἰκίᾳ. De Is. & Os. p. 632. Edit. Steph. 8vo. Αὐτίκα τῆς βαρβάρε (says Clemens Alex.) φιλοσοφίας, πάνυ σφόδρα ἐπικεκρυμμένης ἥρτηλαι τὰ Πυθαγόρια ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ. παραίνει γᾶν ὁ Σάμιος χελιδόνα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ ἔχειν, τελέσι, λάλον καὶ ψίθυρον καὶ πρόγλωσσον ἄνθρωπον, &c. Strom. lib. v. p. 558. Edit. Colon. 1688, fol.

P. 181. [III] The reader may now see how inconsiderately the learned W. Baxter pronounced upon the matter when he said, "The ἱερα γράμματα of the "*Egyptians* were *notæ sacræ* borrowed from the Oni-"rocritics, and therefore divine." [App. to his Gloss. Antiq. Rom. p. 414.] Nor does the more judicious Mr. Dubuz conclude less erroneously, when he supposes that both *onirocritic* and *hieroglyphics* stood upon one common foundation. But he was misled by Kircher, and certain late Greek writers, who pretended that the *ancient Egyptians* had I can't tell what notion of a close union between visible bodies in heaven, the invisible deities, and this inferior world, by such a concatenation from the highest to the lowest, that the affections of the higher link reached the lower throughout the whole chain; for that the intellectual world is so exact a copy and idea of the visible, that nothing is done in the visible, but what is decreed before and exemplified in the intellectual. [Prelim. Discourse to his Comm. on the REVELATIONS.] This was the senseless jargon of Jamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and the rest of that fanatic

fanatic tribe of Pythagorean-Platonists; and this they obtruded on the world for old Egyptian wisdom; the vanity of which pretence has been confuted in the First Part. It is hard to say whether these Enthusiasts believed themselves, there is such an equal mixture of folly and knavery in all their writings: however, it is certain, Kircher believed them.

P. 182. [KKK] But hieroglyphic writing, as we have observed, not only furnished rules of interpretation for their Onirocritics, but figures of speech for their Orators. So Isaiah expresseth the king of Assyria's invasion of Judea by the *stretching out of his* WINGS, *to fill the breadth of the land**: And afterwards, prophesying against Egypt and Ethiopia, he says, *Wo to the land shadowing with* WINGS†. Most of the interpreters, indeed, explain wings to signify the sails of their vessels on the Nile: but the expression evidently means, in general, the over-shadowing with a mighty power: of which *wings* in hieroglyphic language were the emblem.

P. 182. [LLL] Thus Suidas on the word ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ· αἱ εἰκόνες καὶ διαπλάσεις τῶν ὀνείρων αἱ δι' ὀλίγα ἢ πολλὰ χρόνα τὴν ἔκβασιν ἔχουσαι. Artemidorus tells us this was the *technical word* for the phantasms in dreams: Ὄνειρός ἐστι, κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς πολυσχήμων· σημαντικὴ τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν· τότε δὲ ἔτως ἔχοντος, ὅσα μὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι μέλλει χρόνῳ διελθόντος ἢ πολλῷ, ἢ ὀλίγῳ, ταῦτα πάντα δι' εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ καλουμένων, προαγορεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λογισμῷ διδασκομένους τὰ ἐσόμενα μαθεῖν. Oneir. lib. i. cap. 2. And in his fourth book he begins a chapter which he entitles περὶ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ in this manner: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφθόνως εἰρῆσθαι δοκούσας, ἔστω ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσει, ὅπως ἔχῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῇς ὑπὸ τῶν πλείονα λεγόντων εἶναι. cap. 3.

P. 182. [MMM] But the learned Daubuz, in consequence of his trusting to the fanatic notion of the late Greek philosophers, supposes that hieroglyphic marks

* Ch. viii. ver. 8. † Ch. xviii. ver. i.

were called Στοιχεῖα, because the first composers of them *used the heavenly bodies to represent the notions of their minds, there being, according to them, a mystic sympathetic union and analogy between heavenly and earthly things*; consequently that Στοιχεῖα, in this use, signifies the *host of heaven:* That it may do so, according to the genius of the Greek tongue, he endeavours to prove by its coming from στίχω, which is a military term, and signifies to *march in order.* [p. 10. of the Prel. Disc.] But this learned man should on this occasion have remembered his own quotation from the excellent Quintilian, p. 54. *that analogy is not founded upon reason, but example. Non ratione nititur analogia, sed exemplo; nec lex est loquendi, sed observatio: ut ipsam analogiam nulla res alia fecerit, quam consuetudo.* Inst. lib. i. cap. 10.

P. 183. [NNN] Here perhaps I shall be told, with the candour I have commonly experienced, that I have applied the history of Pharaoh's *dream* in illustrating the old Pagan method of Oniocritic for no other purpose than to discredit Joseph's prophetic interpretation of it: Therefore, though this matter be explained afterwards at large, I must here inform the reader, of what every one will be content to know, except such as these, who never think but to suspect and never suspect but to accuse, that when God pleases to deal with men by his ministers, he generally condescends to treat them according to their infirmities; a method which hath all the marks of highest wisdom as well as goodness. Phantasms in dreams were superstitiously thought to be *symbolical:* God, therefore, when it was his good pleasure to send dreams to Pharaoh, made the foundation of them two well-known symbols; and this, doubtless, in order to engage the dreamer's more serious attention: But then to confound the Egyptian *Oniocritics*, these dreams were so circumstanced with matters foreign to the principles of their art, that there was need of a truly divine Interpreter to decipher them.

P. 184. [OOO] But if you will believe a late writer, *Animal-worship* was so far from coming from *Hieroglyphics*, that Hieroglyphics came out of Animal-worship. This

This is an unexpected change of the scene; but, for our comfort, it is only the forced consequence of a false hypothesis, which will be well considered in its place: "The *hieroglyphical* inscriptions of the Egyptians (says "he) are pretty full of the figures of birds, fishes, beasts, "and men, with a few letters sometimes between them; "and this alone is sufficient to *hint* to us, that they "could not come into use before the animals, represented "in inscriptions of this sort, were become by allegory "and mythology capable of expressing various things by "their having been variously used in the ceremonies of "their religion." Connect. of the Sacred and Profane History, vol. ii. p. 294. But if this were the case, How came these animals to be *so capable* of expressing by *allegory* and *mythology?* or in other words, How came they to be the objects of worship? We are yet to seek; and it must be more than a *hint* that can supply us with a reason.

P. 188. [PPP] As unanswerable a proof as this appears to be, that the *living Animal* was not yet worshipped in Egypt, (for if it were, what occasion for this trouble and expence?) yet a learned German, so oddly are men's heads sometimes framed, brings this circumstance to prove that the *living Animal* was at this time worshipped in Egypt.—Eadem historia Mosaica cultus vivorum animalium in Ægypto, vestigia alia non inficienda, tum sæpe alias, tum vero omnium clarissime in VITULO AUREO nobis offert. Jablonski, Pantheon Ægyptorum Prolegom. p. 85.

P. 196. [QQQ] SIS, in the eastern languages, signified a *swallow*; under whose form, as this fable says, Isis concealed herself: and BUBASTE, which signifies a *cat*, was the Egyptian name of Diana, who lay hid under that shape. Hence the learned Bochart supposes, in his usual way, that the original of this fable was only an equivoque of some Greek story-teller, whose countrymen delighted in the marvellous. But 1. The fable was not of Greek invention, if we may believe Diodorus and Lucian; the latter of whom, speaking of the Egyptian account of it, says, ταῦτα γὰρ ἀμέλει ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ἀπόκειλα

γραφέντα. πρὶν ἢ πρὸ ἐτῶν μυρίων, *de sacrificiis.* 2. This only places the difficulty a step backward, without removing it: For one might ask, How came the Egyptian name of Diana to signify a *cat*; or the word Sis or Isis to signify a *swallow?* Can any other good reason be given, but that these Goddesses were expressed by such *symbols* in hieroglyphic writing? Agreeably to this, Horapollo tells us [lib. i. cap. 7.] that the *hieroglyphic* for the *soul* was a *hawk*, which in the Egyptian tongue was called *Baieth*, a word compounded of *Bai* and *Eth*, the first of which signified, in that language, the *soul*; the other the *heart*: for according to the Egyptians the heart was the inclosure of the soul. But if this were the case, what we have given above seems the more natural original of the story.

P. 194. [RRR] *Ipsi, qui irridentur, Ægyptii, nullam beluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ea ea caperent, consecraverunt.—Ita concludam tamen beluas a Barbaris propter beneficium consecratas.* Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 36. This, in the person of *Cotta the academic*. How ill it agrees with what the same Cotta says afterwards, I have shewn above: *Omne ferè genus* Bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt, lib. iii. cap. 15. Now this being a fact, and the other but a speculation, we see the reason has no weight. The wonder is that Tully should not see it. But the notion was plausible, and antiquity seemed enamoured of it. When Plutarch [Is. & Os.] had said, the Jews worshipped swine; not content with this simple calumny, he invents a reason for it; and takes up this which lay so commodious for these occasions; namely, gratitude to that animal for having taught men to plough the ground.

P. 194. [SSS] A passage in Eusebius strongly confirms our opinion of the origin of brute-worship; and, consequently, accounts for the adoration paid to *noxious* animals: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν περὶ τῶν Φοινίκων στοιχείων ἐκ τῶν Σαγχουνιαθῶνος μετ' βαλὼν, θεὰ ὁποῖά φησι περὶ τῶν ἑρπυστικῶν καὶ ἰοβόλων θηρίων ἃ δὴ χρῆσιν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ἀνθρώποις ἐδεμίαν συντελεῖ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ λύμην οἷς ἂν τὸν δυσαλθὴ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν ἐγχρίμψειεν ἀπεργάζεται γράφει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγων. Τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὄφεων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασε ὁ Τάαυτος,

ὁ Τάαυτ⟨ος⟩, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν αὖθις Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. [Pr. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.] *Consider again what he* [*Philo*] *says in his translation of Sanchoniatho's discourse of the Phœnician elements, concerning* certain reptiles and other venomous animals, *which not only bring no benefit to man, but convey certain mischief and destruction on whomsoever they shed their deadly venom. These are his very words. Taautus therefore* consecrated *the species of dragons and serpents, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians followed him in this superstition.* The quotation from Philo then goes on to shew, from the nature of the serpent-kind, why it was made a symbol of the Divinity. The discourse of Sanchoniathon here mentioned, as translated by Philo, was part of a larger work, which he wrote concerning the Phœnician and Egyptian wisdom and learning, and treated of *hieroglyphic characters*, as appears from the title of Φοινίκων ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΩΝ, which latter word I have shewn to be the technical term for *hieroglyphics:* but how a digression concerning the consecration of noxious animals should come into this discourse, unless the author understood *hieroglyphics* to be the origin of *brute-worship*, is difficult to conceive.

P. 198. [TTT] And it is remarkable that this, which was done to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Paganism*, the advocates of the Church of Rome have lately revived, to hide the ignominy of *vulgar Popery*, in their saint-worship; nothing having been of late more fashionable amongst the French Philologists than the contending against that most established doctrine of early Antiquity, that the greater Gods of Paganism were all dead men deified. Il soit aisé de prouver (says one of them) que, de tous les Dieux du Paganisme, Hercule, Castor & Pollux sont les seuls qui aient eté veritablement des hommes. Hist. de l'Academie Royale des Inscript. &c. tom. xxiii. p. 17.

P. 200. [UUU] Winckelman, in his Histoire de l'Art chez les Anciens, vol. i. p. 97, says I am mistaken, in supposing it to be made at Rome. And that this is an opinion I have adopted without any foundation—il ne paroît avoir adopté cette opinion, destituée de fondement,

que parce qu'elle cadre avec son systeme. That I told my opinion, because it quadrated with my system, is certain. But that it is not without *foundation* he might have understood by the very hint I gave of the *devotees of Isis in Rome*. These were very numerous, and had the liberty of celebrating their own country rites. And when they had this, it would be hard upon them not to permit a Roman Artificer to make them one of the proper implements of their worship, and decent furniture for their Temple. The Jews at the same time had the like indulgence in Rome, and without doubt made the like use of it in directing Roman workmen to make them utensils like these, once employed in their Temple worship. Now should one of these chance to fall into the hands of an antiquarian of the size of Winckelman, he would say they could never have been made at Rome, but at Jerusalem, for that they were intirely different from the style of the Roman school. And this wise remark Winckelman makes with regard to the *Bembine Table*—les Hieroglyphes qui s'y trouvent, et qu'on ne voit sur aucun ouvrage *imité* par les Romains, en prouvant l'antiquité et refutent *d'avance*, tous les sentimens qui pourroient y être contraires. But after all, how does he know but that the Romans might be at one time as fond of *Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, as we in England (whom he says have neither art nor taste) have lately been of *Chinese filigrane?* Would he therefore, because there is certainly as wide a difference between the Chinese and the English style as there was between the Egyptian and the Roman, deprive us of a fashion which we have been at so much pains to make our own? They seem to have been fond enough of Hieroglyphics when they were at so much cost and labour of transporting to Rome the gigantic Obelisques covered all over with them. And though the grandees procured these for their bulk, and not for their literature, the common people might mistake, and grow fond of these overbearing strangers, for the sake of their imputed learning, which they might take upon trust, and be ready to transcribe into smaller volumes, such as the *Bembine Table*. In a word, the good man, with all the advantage of eye-sight—je n'ai parlé, says he, que de ce que j'ai vu—has not been able to distinguish between

tween works which a Roman artificer was employed to make for a *Barbarian* customer, and those he made according to his own fancy, or on Grecian rules, to please the more elegant taste of his own countrymen.

P. 207. [XXX] To this I shall be bold to add one or two more: For though Antiquity be full and clear in this matter, yet lest it should be said, that as the Greeks talk of things done long before their time, it might very well be that, for the credit of the God, tradition would pretend a very early deification, how short soever, in reality, of the age of the hero; lest this, I say, should be objected, I shall give an instance or two of the fact from contemporary evidence. God speaking by the prophet to the king of Tyre says: *Thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man and not God.—Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am a God? but thou shalt be a man and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee.* Ezek. xxviii 2—9. This I understand to denote a real worship paid to the living king of Tyre, by his idolatrous subjects: it is not unlikely but he afterwards became one of the *Greek Neptunes.* The Rabbins seem to have understood the text in this sense, when, as Jerom observes, they made him to have lived a thousand years. For the Egyptians taught (whose ceremonial of the *apotheosis* was followed by the rest of the nations) that their first God-Kings reigned a thousand or twelve hundred years apiece. Μυθολογέσι (says Diodorus) δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν.—p. 15. We have already taken notice of Odin and his early consecration. But Tacitus assures us, it was a general custom amongst the Northern Barbarians to deify without loss of time: and this not in jest, like their contemporary Romans. For speaking of the German nations he says: *Ea virgo* [Velleda] *nationis Bructeræ late imperitabat:* VETERE *apud Germanos* MORE, *quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicas &* augescente superstitione, *arbitrentur* DEAS, lib. iv. hist. And again of the same heroine: *Vidimus* DIVO *Vespasiano* Velledam, *diu apud plerosque* NUMINIS LOCO *habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complures alias venerati sunt,* NON ADULATIONE

LATIONE

LATIONE NEC TANQUAM FACERENT DEAS. Here the historian hints at the mock deifications in Rome, and insinuates, that these in Germany were of another nature, and believed in good earnest.

P. 213. [YYY] This paradox, as we say, is advanced in defiance of Antiquity. The *Mysteries*, in their secret communications, taught that ALL THE NATIONAL GODS WERE DEAD MEN DEIFIED. Of this we are assured by the express testimony of the most learned ancients, both Gentile and Christian; Cicero, Julius Firmicus, Plutarch, Eusebius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and St. Austin. See the First Part of the *Divine Legation*. And will this author pretend to say, that the institutors of the *Mysteries* did not know the true original of their national Gods? But we have much more than their bare testimony; almost every rite in the ancient worship of these Gods declared them to be DEAD MORTALS: such as the solemn mourning and lamentations with which they began their celebrations; the custom of never coming to worship empty-handed, but with a present, as was the Eastern use when they approached their princes; the building sumptuous houses for their Gods, and setting meat before them for their refreshment; with a number of other domestic usages, too tedious to dwell upon. Thus the clearest facts and most creditable testimony concur to support this notorious truth; a truth, which they who most eagerly defended Paganism, and they who most maliciously undermined it; as well the ministers of the *Mysteries*, as Euhemerus and his followers, equally allowed. On what then is this author's paradox supported? On the common foundation of most modern philologic systems, ETYMOLOGIES; which, like fungous excrescencies, spring up from old Hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren sense, we are to understand, that in the ancient oriental tongues the few *primitive* words must needs bear many different significations; and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of Greek proper names, by turning them to Oriental sounds, so as to suit every system past, present, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader

reader by example: M. Pluche's system is, that the Gentile Gods came from *Agriculture*: All he wants then, is to pick out (consonant to the Greek proper names) Hebrew words which signify a *plough*, *tillage*, or *ears of corn*; and so his business is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news, that the Greek Gods were *Moses* or *Abraham*; and the same ductile sounds produce, from the same primitive words, a *chief*, a *leader*, or a *true believer*; and then, to use his words, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être aveugle d'esprit & d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the scene, suppose them, Le Clerc and Bannier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, say, that the Greek Gods were only *Phenician voyagers*; and then, from the same ready sources, flow *navigation*, *ships*, and *negociators*. And when any one is at a loss in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up their deficiencies. To give an instance of all this in the case of poor distressed Osiris, whom hostile Critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth. M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochosi-erets*, *domaine de la terre*; Mr. Fourmont from *Hoscheiri*, *habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Esau, who is his Osiris; and Vossius from *Shicher* or *Sior*, one of the scripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humorist, and a great dealer in etymologies, who boasted, *That he not only knew whence Words came, but whither they were going.* And indeed, on any system-maker's telling me his Scheme, I will undertake to shew *whither all his old words are going*: for in strict propriety of speech they cannot be said to be *coming from* but *going to* some old Hebrew root.—There are certain follies (of which this seems to be in the number) whose ridicule strikes so strongly, that it is felt even by those who are most subject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's Demonstratio Evangelica, would have expected to see him satirise, with so much spirit, the very nonsense with which his own learned book abounds? Le veritable usage de la connoissance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a succédé. On s'en est servi pour ETYMOLOGISER—

on

on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ses dialectes la source de tous les mots et de toutes les langues, toutes les barbares et étranges qu'elles puissent être—Se presente-t-il un nom de quelque Roi d'Ecosse ou de Norvége, on se met aux champs avec ses conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Palestine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On passe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-il point, l'Arabie n'est pas loin: & en un besoin même on pousseroit jusqu'en Ethiopie, plutot que de se trouver court d'ETYMOLOGIES: et l'on battant de païs qu'il est impossible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de son avec celui, dont on cherche l'origine.—Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ses dialectes, l'origine des noms du Roi Artur, & tous les Chevaliers de la Table ronde; de Charlemagne, & des douze pairs de France; et même en un besoin de tous les Yncas du Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand que j'ai connu, prouvoit que Priam avoit été le même qu'Abraham; et Æneas le même que Jonas.—Lettre au Bochart. On such subjects as these, however, this trifling can do no great harm. But when, by a strange fatality of the times, it is transferred from matters of profane Antiquity, to such important questions as the redemption of mankind, and faith in the Messiah, we are ready to execrate a Caballistic madness which exposes our holy religion to the scorn and derision of every unbeliever, whose bad principles have not yet deprived him of all remains of common sense.

P. 233. [ZZZ] As Sir Isaac's own words seem so much to shake his system, I shall quote them at length: "The "lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the "Nile, was scarce inhabited before the invention of corn, "which made it useful: and the king, who by this in-"vention first peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps "the king of the city Mesir, where Memphis was after-"wards built, seems to have been worshipped by his "subjects after death, in the ox or calf, for this bene-"faction." p. 197, 198.

P 233. [AAAA] I apprehend such mistakes were pretty general in the traditional accounts of nations, concerning

cerning their early times. Garcillasso's history of the YNCAS affords us just such another instance. "Ils "pretendent (says the French translator) qu'un de leur "Rois fût un grand *Legislateur*. Ils disent de plus, "qu'il fût un excellent capitaine, qui *conquit un grand* "*nombre de Provinces & de Royaumes.* Mais pour le "tirer de ce Labyrinte, ils *attribuent au premier Ynca* "*tous ces choses*, tant pour ce qui est de leurs Loix, que "du fondement de leur Empire." Vol. i. p. 150.

P. 238. [BBBB] Julius Cæsar had so little doubt of this matter, that speaking of the Gauls, he says, *Deum maximè* Mercurium *colunt—Post hunc*, Apollinem & Martem & Jovem & Minervam. *De his eandem ferè, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem.* De Bell. Gall. l. vi. sect. 15. The reason he gives is, that the several Gods of Gaul had attributes correspondent to those of Greece and Rome. Hence he, and most other writers, concluded them to be the same. So Tacitus observes of the Germans, that they worshipped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, deorum maxime Mercurium colunt—Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. [*De mor. Ger.* c. ix.] and speaking of the Æstii, a nation of the Suevians, he says, they worshipped the *mother of the Gods—Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris littore Æstiorum gentes adluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior.* Matrem Deûm venerantur. [c. 45.] But this *Mother of the Gods* was, as we learn from the ancient Northern Chronicles, an idol peculiar to those people, called Solotta Babba, or *the golden woman.* Yet as she most resembled the *Mother of the Gods*, she is called so by Tacitus without any hesitation: who yet, in another place, speaking of the worship paid to Castor and Pollux amongst this people, gives us to understand by his expression that no more was meant than that the Germans had a couple of Gods, whose attributes and relation to one another bore a resemblance to the Greek and Roman *Dioscuri.* "Præsidet sacerdos muliebri "ornatu, sed Deos, *interpretatione Romana*, Castorem "Polluccmque memorant." [c. 43.] But what greatly confirms our opinion is, that, when these people were converted from Paganism to the Christian faith, their Convertists,

Convertists, who had the best opportunities and fittest occasion to enquire thoroughly into the state of their superstition, found neither Greek nor Roman Gods amongst them; but Idols of their own growth only. And though, indeed, the vulgar herd of Antiquarians, misled by the Classic writers, are wont to speak after them, in this matter, yet the most learned investigators of the history of this people expressly affirm the contrary. Of whom I need only mention the celebrated Saxo Grammaticus, who says, "Eos qui a nostris cole-"bantur non esse quos Romanorum vetustissimi Jovem "Mercuriumque dixere, vel quibus Græci Latiumque "plenum superstitionis obsequium exsolverunt, ex ipsa "liquidò feriarum appellatione colligitur." *Hist. Dan.* l. vi. But Tacitus has recorded a circumstance which fully evinces the mistake of this supposed identity. For when he had told us that the Germans worshipped Mercury, Hercules, Mars, &c. he immediately adds, that they did not worship their Gods in Temples, nor under a Human figure. Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur. [c. ix.] I quote the words for the *fact*. The *reason* seems to be a conjecture of his own. Now if the Germans had borrowed their Mercury, Hercules, and Mars, from Greece and Rome, they probably would have worshipped them in Temples; most certainly, under a Human form. And, what is strangest of all, Tacitus himself afterwards, in the case of the Naharvali, seems to be sensible of this; for having told us that they worshipped two young Brother Gods, which the Romans conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, he makes the following observation, as seeming to dissent from them. Nulla SIMULACRA, nullum peregrinæ superstitionis vestigium, c. xliii.

A celebrated French author, M. Freret, has borrowed and adopted this system. He holds with me, that the Gods of these Barbarians were not the same with the Greek and Roman Gods; and that the mistake arose from the resemblance between their attributes, which he shews, in the manner I have done (and I suppose from the observations I had made) must needs be alike. "Chaque Dieu dans toute religion Polytheiste avoit son "district,

" district, ses occupations, son caractere, &c. Le par-
" tage avoit été réglé sur les passions & sur les besoins
" des hommes: et comme leurs passions & leurs besoins
" sont les mêmes par tout, les départemens des Dieux
" barbares avoient necessairement du rapport avec ceux
" des divinités de la Gréce. Il falloit par tout une intel-
" ligence qui gouvernât le ciel, & qui lancât le tonnerre.
" Il en falloit d'autres pour gouverner les élémens, pour
" présider à la guerre, au commerce, à la paix, &c. La
" conformité des emplois entraînoit une ressemblance
" d'attributs: & c'étoit sur ce fondement, que les Grecs
" & les Romains donnoient les noms de leurs Dieux aux
" divinités des Barbares."—Voicz M. de la Bleterie, ses remarques sur la Germanie de Tacit. p. 135.

In conclusion; the learned reader will remark, that this is a species of that general *conformity* which I had observed is commonly ascribed to *imitation*, when in truth its source is in our common nature, and the similar circumstances in which the partakers of it are generally found. Here again I have the pleasure of finding this M. Freret agree with me in this general principle, as before in the particular system of polytheism here advanced. " Il seroit utile, dit M. Freret, de rassembler
" les conformités qui se trouvent entre des nations qu'on
" sait n'avoir jamais eu de commerce ensemble. Ces
" exemples pourroient rendre les critiques un peu moins
" hardis à supposer qu'une nation a emprunté certains
" opinions & certains coûtumes d'une autre nation, dont
" elle étoit séparée par une très-grande distance, & avec
" qui l'on ne voit point qu'elle ait jamais eu la moindre
" communication." See M. de la Bleterie, p. 168. and compare it with what I had said many years before at the end of the last section of this Fourth Book. When I reflect upon the honours of this kind, which several writers of this *humane* nation have done me in silence, it puts me in mind of what Muret says of Macrobius on the like occasion,—ut appareat eum factitasse eandem artem, quam plerique hoc saeculo faciunt, qui ita humani a se nihil alienum putant, ut alienis æquè utantur ac suis.

P. 239. [CCCC] It is remarkable, that though Herodotus tells us, these Pelasgians, before their knowledge or admission

admission of the *Egyptian names*, sacrificed to their Gods, [Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οὐδὲ Πελασγοὶ], yet when they had admitted these *names*, he gives the matter of sacrificing as one change which this admission had introduced; *from that time*, says he, *they sacrificed* [ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τότε τῷ χρόνῳ ἔθυον]. A passage in Julius Cæsar will explain this difficulty: After he had given an account of the Gods of the Gauls, who, living under a civil Policy, worshipped Hero-gods; he goes on to those of the uncivilized Germans, which, he tells us, were only the celestial Luminaries and Elements. *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur*; Solem & Vulcanum & Lunam. *Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.* De Bell. Gall. vi. sect. 19. The very Gods, as we observed, of all the uncivilized idolaters upon earth. Now of these Barbarians he adds, *Neque* Druides *habent, qui rebus divinis præsint; neque* SACRIFICIIS STUDENT. They were not nice and exact in the matter of *sacrificing:* and no wonder, for he tells us, they had no Priests. Now Herodotus, speaking of his Barbarians, informs us of the same thing, though in other words, and on a different occasion. *They sacrificed*, says he, *every thing without distinction*; this was the *neque sacrificiis student* of Cæsar. But when they came to use the *names* of the Egyptian Gods, then ἔθυον, *they sacrificed*, i. e. made a *study* of it, had a large Ritual concerning it, and no longer sacrificed without distinction. For these *names* being expressive of each God's peculiar nature, qualities, and dispositions, soon introduced a distinction of sacrifices, according to the imaginary agreement or disagreement between the *subject* and the *object*.

P. 240. [DDDD] This *communication of names* (from whence the men we are arguing against inferred, that the Grecian Gods were originally Egyptian) made another party, such as Bochart, Huet, and Fourmont, conclude they were originally Jewish. Thus the last of these writers in one place says, *Par tout ce discours il est clair, que les Romains, les Grecs, les Phrygiens, les Thraces, les Getes, les autres Scythes, & en general tous les peuples Guerriers ont adoré* MARS sans le connoître, *& que c'etoit un Dieu originairement Phenicien, comme les autres*

autres grands Dieux. [Refl. Crit. vol. i. p. 103.] And in another place, *Mais en voilà assez sur ce Dieu ou Heros, qui, comme l'on voit, avoit été fort illustre* SANS ETRE CONNU. [p. 156.] For, according to these Critics, a pagan Hero was never *known* till his pedigree had been traced up into the Holy family.

P. 245. [EEEE] But, besides the Greek and Egyptian, there was certainly an *Indian* BACCHUS: whose existence and history the learned Mr. Shuckford has well disembarrassed. I shall quote his words, and this with more pleasure than I have yet done on most occasions. "There "have been several persons called by the name of "*Bacchus*; at least one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and "one in *Greece*; but we must not confound them one "with the other, especially when we have remarkable "hints by which we may sufficiently distinguish them. "For, 1. The Indian Bacchus was the first and most "ancient of all that bore that name. 2. He was the "first that pressed the grape and made wine. 3. He "lived in these parts before there were any cities in "India. 4. They say he was twice born, and that he "was nourished in the thigh of *Jupiter*. These are the "particulars which the Heathen writers give us of the "Indian Bacchus; and from all these hints it must un-"questionably appear that he was NOAH, and no other. "Noah being the first man in the *post-diluvian* world, "lived early enough to be the most ancient Bacchus; "and Noah, according to Moses, was the first that made "wine. Noah lived in those parts as soon as he came "out of the ark, earlier than there were any cities built "in India; and as to the last circumstance of Bacchus "being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh "of Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into "the true meaning of this tradition; he says, *that "Bacchus was said to be twice born, because in Deuca-"lion's flood he was thought to have perished with the "rest of the world, but* GOD *brought him again as by a "second nativity into the sight of men, and they say, "mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of "Jupiter.*" Connection, vol. ii. p. 49, 50.

P. 250. [FFFF] Τὴν δὲ μετεξέτερον φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιδος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι. Herod. l. ii. c. 134. Their handle for this was a story the Egyptian priests told of their king Cheops, the great builder of Pyramids. That, having exhausted his revenues, he raised a new fund for his expences by the prostitution of his DAUGHTER: By which the priests, in their figurative way of recording matters, only meant, as I suppose, that he prostituted JUSTICE. This interpretation is much confirmed by the character they give of his son *Mycerinus*, δίκας δέ σφι πάλιν βασιλέα δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. [See Herod. l. ii. c. 126. 129.] However, the Greeks took it literally.

P. 252. [GGGG] Plutarch, in Theseus, tells us, that when the daughter of Pitheus bore Theseus of Ægeus, her father gave out that the infant was begot by Neptune.

P. 253. [HHHHH] That Homer collected his materials from the old Songs and Poems of his predecessors, I conclude from this circumstance; In those things wherein he might be instructed by the records of poesy, we find him calling upon the MUSES to inform him: But when he relates what happened amongst the Gods, which he could only learn by poetical inspiration, he goes boldly into his story, without invoking the *Muses*, at all. Thus when he speaks of the squabbles between Jupiter, and his wife Juno, he tells them with as little preparation as if they had been his next door neighbours. But when he comes to give a catalogue of the Grecian forces which went to the siege of Troy, the likeliest of all subjects to be found in the old poems of his Ancestors, he invocates the Muses in the most solemn and pompous manner: which therefore I understand as only a more figurative intimation (to give the greater authority to what followed), that he took his account from authentic records, and not from uncertain tradition. And these old poems being, in his time, held sacred, as supposed to be written by a kind of divine impulse, an invocation to them, under the name of the Goddesses, who were said to have inspired them, was an extreme natural and easy figure:

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι·
Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε. παρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα,
Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·
Οἵτινες ἡγεμόνες—Ιλ. β. ver. 484.

"Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
"All-knowing Goddesses! immortal nine!
"Since Earth's wide regions, Heaven's unmeasured height,
"And Hell's abyss hide nothing from your sight,
"We wretched mortals lost in doubt below,
"But guess by rumour, and but boast we know,
"Oh, say what Heroes."—Mr. Pope.

Which, put into a plain dress, is no more than this, *That as the old records of the poets had preserved a very circumstantial account of the forces warring before Troy, he chose rather to fetch his accounts from thence than from uncertain and confused tradition.*

This observation will help to explain another particular in Homer, and as remarkable; namely, his so frequently telling us, as he is describing persons or things, that they bore one name amongst the Gods, and another amongst Mortals. Which, we may now collect, means no more than that, in those old poems, they were called differently from what they were in the time of Homer. Thus speaking of Titan he says,

Ὦκ' Ἑκατόχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
Ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι Θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων—Ιλ. α. ver. 402.

"Then call'd by thee, the monster Titan came,
"Whom Gods, Briareus, men Ægeon name."
Mr. Pope.

So again,

Ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλεως αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·
Τὴν ἤτοι ἄνδρες βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,
Ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίννης.
Ιλ. β. ver. 811.

"Amidst the plain in sight of Ilion stands
"A rising mount, the work of human hands,
"This for Myrinnè's Tomb th' immortals know,
"Tho' call'd Bateïa in the world below."—Mr. Pope.

 And

And again,

Ἄλλα δ' ἄρ' Ἡφαίστοιο μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης,
Ὃν Ξάνθον καλέεσκι θεοὶ, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.—
Ιλ. υ. ver. 73.

"With fiery Vulcan last in battle stands
"The sacred flood that rolls on golden sands;
"Xanthus his name with those of heav'nly birth,
"But call'd Scamander by the sons of earth."—
Mr. POPE.

Now supposing these names were not taken by Homer from the old poems, no reasonable account can be given for his so particular an information of this circumstance. But allow them to be taken thence, and the reason is evident. It was to remind the reader, from time to time, that he still kept their own venerable records in his eye; which would give weight and authority to what he delivered. The old names are called by Homer, the *Names used by the immortals*, on these three accounts: 1. As they were the names employed in the old sacred poems. 2. As they were in use in the first heroic ages. And 3. As they were of barbarous and Egyptian original; from whence came the mythologic history of the Gods. Two lines of the pretended Chaldaic oracles, collected by Patricius, explain this whole matter well, as they shew the great reverence of the Ancients for the *Religion of Names:*

Ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,
Εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα.

Never change barbarous Names; for every nation hath Names which it received from God.

P. 264. [IIII] The late bishop Sherlock supposed, that "the divine original of the Law might be inferred from this prohibition of the use of Cavalry: for that nothing but a divine command could have prevailed with Moses *to forbid the princes of his country the uses of Horses and Chariots for their defence.*" [4th Dissert. p. 329. Ed. 4.] But I chuse not to insist on this, as the use of Cavalry could not be necessary for their defence after they were in possession of the country.

P. 270. [KKKK] It is true Diodorus supposes, the principal reason was to cover and secure the flat country from hostile incursions: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολέμιων ἐφόδους ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυσέμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, p. 36. But sure he hath chosen a very unlikely time for such a provision. The return of Sesostris from the conquest of the habitable world would hardly have been attended with apprehensions of any evil of this kind.

P. 274. [LLLL] The reader may not be displeased to see Homer's ideas of this matter: who supposes the science of architecture to be arrived at great perfection in the time of the Trojan war. For speaking of the habitation of Paris (whom, as his great translator rightly observes, Homer makes to be *a bel-esprit and a fine genius*) he describes it in this manner:

Ἕκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει
ΚΑΛΑ, τὰ ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τότ' ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ
Ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβώλακι ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ἄνδρες,
Οἵ οἱ ἐποίησαν ΘΑΛΑΜΟΝ, καὶ ΑΥΛΙΑ, καὶ ΑΤΛΗΝ.—
Ιλ. ζ. 310.

Here, we see a magnificent palace, built by profest architects, with all suits of apartments; as different from the description of Hector's dwelling, as the character of the masters from one another; of which last he only says, it was a commodious habitation.

Αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ΕΥ ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΝΤΑΣ
Ἕκτορος.— Ibid. 497.

P. 285. [MMMM] In the history of the acts of Hezekiah, king of Judah, it is said, that, "He removed "the high places, and brake the images, and cut down "the groves, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent "that Moses had made: for unto those days the "children of Israel did burn incense to it: and he "called it NEHUSHTAN." [2 Kings xviii. 4.] The historian's care to record the *name* which the king gave to the brasen serpent, when he passed sentence upon it, will appear odd to those who do not reflect upon what hath been said, about the superstition of NAMES. But that will shew us the propriety of the observation. This idol,

idol, like the rest, had doubtless its *name of honour*, alluding to its sanative attributes. Good Hezekiah, therefore, in contempt of its title of deification, called it NEHUSHTAN, which signifies A THING OF BRASS. And it was not out of season either to nickname it then, or to convey the mockery to posterity: For the NAME of a demolished God, like the shade of a deceased Hero, still walked about, and was ready to prompt men to mischief.

P. 288. [NNNN] A learned writer [Mr. Fourmont, Reflections Critiques sur les Histoires de anciens Peuples] hath followed a system which very well accounts for this unconquerable propensity to Egyptian superstitions. He supposeth that the Egyptian, and consequently the Jewish idolatry, consisted in the worship of the dead Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. The mischief is, that this should have the common luck of so many other learned Systems, to have all Antiquity obstinately bent against it. Not more so, however, than its Author is against Antiquity, as the reader may see by the instance I am about to give him. Mr. Fourmont, in consequence of his system, having taken it into his head, that Cronus, in Sanchoniatho, was ABRAHAM; notwithstanding that fragment tells us, that Cronos rebelled against his father, and cut off his privities; buried his brother alive, and murdered his own son and daughter; that he was an idolater; and a propagator of idolatry, by consecrating several of his own family; that he gave away the kingdom of Athens to the Goddess Athena; and the kingdom of Egypt to the God Taaut; notwithstanding all this, so foreign and inconsistent with the history of Abraham, yet, because the same fragment says, that Cronos, in the time of a plague, sacrificed his only son to appease the shade of his murdered father; and circumcised himself and his whole army; on the strength of this, and two or three cold, fanciful etymologies, this great Critic cries out, *Nier qu'il s'agisse ici du seul Abraham, c'est être* AVEUGLE D'ESPRIT, ET D'UN AVEUGLEMENT IRREMEDIABLE. Liv. ii. sect. 3, c. 3.

P. 298. [OOOO] Fornication, adultery, whoredom, are the constant figures under which the Holy Spirit represents the idolatries of the Israelites: consequently, by this character of the *Egyptians being great of flesh*, and in another place, *their flesh was as the flesh of asses, and their issue like the issue of horses*, Ezek. xxiii. 20. we are given to understand that Egypt was the grand origin and incentive of idolatry, and the propagator of it amongst the rest of mankind: which greatly confirms our general position concerning the antiquity of this Empire.

P. 303. [PPPP]. Yet this evasive reasoning a systematic writer, who has therefore often fallen in our way, would seem to insinuate in an argument designed to make short work with Spencer's learned volumes. His words are these—"*It* is remarkable that some learned "writers, and Dr. Spencer in particular, have imagined, "that the resemblance between the ancient Heathen "Religions, and the *ancient Religion which was insti-* "*tuted by* GOD, was in many respects so great, that "they thought that GOD *was pleased to institute the one* "*in imitation of the other*. This conclusion is indeed "a very wrong one, and it is the grand mistake which "runs through all the works of the very learned author "last mentioned." "The ancient Heathen Religions "do indeed in many particulars agree with the institu- "tions and appointments of that Religion, *which was* "*appointed to* Abraham *and to his family, and which* "*was afterwards revived by* Moses; not that these were "derived from those of the Heathen nations, but much "more evidently the Heathen religions were copied from "them; for there is, I think, ONE OBSERVATION, which, "as far as I have had opportunity to apply it, will fully "answer every particular that Dr. Spencer has offered, "and that is this; He is able to produce no one cere- "mony or usage, practised both *in the religion of* Abra- "ham *or* Moses, and in that of the Heathen nations, "but that it may be proved, that it was used by *Abra-* "*ham* or *Moses*, or by some other of the true wor- "shippers of GOD earlier than by any of the Heathen "nations." Sacred and Prof. Hist. Connected, vol. i.

2d ed. p. 316, 317. This writer, we see, seems here to suppose a palpable falsehood; which is, that there is an impalpable difference between the *Mosaic* and *Patriarchal* Religions. But this was not the principal reason of my quoting so long a passage. It was to consider his ONE OBSERVATION, which is to do such wonders. Now I cannot find that it amounts to any more than this; That the Bible, in which is contained the account of the Jewish Religion, is a much older book than any other that pretends to give account of the national Religions of Paganism. But how this discredits Dr. Spencer's opinion I cannot understand. I can easily see indeed the advantage this learned writer would have had over it, had there been any ancient books which delivered the *origin of Gentile religions* in the same circumstantial manner that the Bible delivers this of the *Jewish*; and that, on a proper application of this ONE OBSERVATION, it appeared that Dr. Spencer, with all his labour, *was able to produce no one ceremony or usage practised both in true and false religion, but that it might be proved it was used first in the true.* But as things stand at present, what is it this learned writer would be at? The Bible is, by far, the oldest book in the world. It records the history of a Religion given by GOD to a people who had been long held in a state of slavery by a great and powerful empire. The ancient historians, in their accounts of the religious rites and manners of that monarchy, deliver many which have a surprising relation to the Jewish ritual; and these rites, these manners, were, they tell us, as old as the monarchy. Thus stands the evidence on the present state of things. So that it appears, if, by *it may be proved*, the learned writer means to confine his proof to contemporary evidence, he only tells us what the reader knew before, *viz.* That the Bible is the oldest book in the world. But if, by *it may be proved*, he means proved by such arguments as the nature of the thing will admit, then he tells us what the reader knows now to be false. Sir Isaac Newton hath given us much the same kind of paralogism in his account of the original letters. *There is no instance*, says he, *of letters for writing down sounds being in use before the days of David in any other nation besides the posterity of Abraham.*

ham. [Chron. p. 209.] So that what hath been said above in answer to the other will serve equally against this. I would only remark, that the learned writer seems to have borrowed his ONE OBSERVATION from a chapter of Witsius's *Ægyptiaca*, thus intitled, *Nullius Historici sufficienti Testimonio probari posse, ea quæ in Religione laudabilia sunt apud Ægyptios, quam apud Hebræos antiquiora fuisse*, l. iii. c. 1. to which, what I have here said is, I think a full answer.—The learned writer will forgive me, if, before I leave this passage, I take notice of an expression which seems to reflect on that good man, and sincere believer, Dr. Spencer; but I suppose not designedly, because it seems a mere inaccuracy. The words are these; *they thought* [i. e. Dr. *Spencer* and others] *that* GOD *was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the others.* Now this neither Dr. Spencer nor any believer ever thought. They might indeed suppose that he *instituted one in reference to the other*, i. e. that part of its Rites were in direct opposition to the customs of the idolaters; and part, out of regard to the people's prejudices, in conformity to such of their customs as could not be abused to superstition. But this is a very different thing from *instituting one religion in imitation of another.* As no believer could suppose GOD did this; so neither I will add, could any unbeliever. For this opinion, *That the Jewish religion was instituted in imitation of the Heathen*, is what induces the unbeliever to conclude, that GOD was not its author.

P. 303. [QQQQ] The parenthesis seems odd enough. It may not therefore be unseasonable to explain the admirable reasoning of our divine Master on this occasion. JESUS, being charged by the Jews as a transgressor of the law of Moses, for having cured a man on the sabbath-day, thus expostulates with his accusers. "Moses "therefore gave unto you circumcision, not because it is "of Moses, but of the Fathers, [οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τῦ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' "ἐκ τῶν πατέρων] and ye on the sabbath-day circumcise "a man. If a man on the sabbath-day receive circum-"cision, that the law of Moses should not be broken, "are ye angry at me, because I have made a man every "whit whole on the sabbath-day?" That is, "Moses enjoined

enjoined you to observe the Rite of Circumcision, and to perform it on the eighth day: but if this day happen to be on the sabbath, you interrupt its holy rest by performing the Rite upon this day, because you will not break the law of Moses, which marked out a day certain for this work of charity. Are you therefore angry at me for performing a work of equal charity on the sabbath-day? But you will ask, why was it so ordered by the Law, that either the precept for Circumcision, or that for the sabbatical-rest, must needs be frequently transgressed? I answer, that though Moses, as I said, gave you Circumcision, yet the Rite was not originally of Moses, but of the Fathers. Now the Fathers enjoined it to be performed on the eighth day; Moses enjoined the seventh day should be a day of rest; consequently the day of rest and the day of Circumcision must needs frequently fall together. Moses found Circumcision instituted by a previous covenant which his *law could not disannul**. But had he originally instituted both, 'tis probable he would have contrived that the two Laws should not have interfered."—This I take to be the sense of that very important parenthesis, *not because it is of Moses, but of the Fathers.*

P. 303. [RRRR] No one ever yet mistook *Circumcision* for a natural duty; while it has been esteemed a kind of impiety to deny the *sabbath* to be in that number. There are two circumstances attending this latter institution, which have misled the Sabbatarians in judging of its nature.

1. The first is, *that* which this positive institution and a natural duty hold in common, namely, the setting apart a certain portion of our time for the service of Religion.—Natural reason tells us, that that Being, who gave us all, requires a constant expression of our gratitude for the blessings he has bestowed, which cannot be paid without some expence of time: and this time must first be set apart before it can be used. But things of very different natures, may hold some things in common.

2. The second circumstance is this, that Moses, the better to impress upon the minds of his People the ob-

* See Gal. iii. 17.

servance

servance of the sabbath, acquaints them with the early institution of it; that it was enjoined by God himself, on his finishing the work of creation. But these Sabbatarians do not consider, that it is not the time when a command was given, nor even the author who gave it, that discover the class to which it belongs, but its *nature* as discoverable by human reason. And the sabbath is as much a positive institution when given by God to Adam and his posterity, as when given by Moses, the messenger of God, to the Israelites and to their posterity. To judge otherwise, is reducing all God's commands to one and the same species.

Having thus far cleared the way, I proceed to shew that the Jewish sabbath is a mere positive institution,

1. From the account the Prophet Ezekiel gives of it—*Moreover also I gave them my* SABBATH, *to be a* SIGN *between me and them**. A *sign* of what? A sign of a *covenant*. And so was *circumcision* called by God himself—*And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a* TOKEN [or *sign*] OF THE COVENANT *between me and you*†. Now nothing but a Rite by institution of a POSITIVE LAW could serve for a *sign* or *token of a covenant* between God and a particular selected People; for besides its use for a *remembrance* of the covenant, it was to serve them as a *partition-wall* to separate them from other nations: And this a Rite by positive institution might well do, though used before by some other people, or even borrowed from them. But a natural duty has no capacity of being thus employed: because a practice observed by *all* nations would obliterate every tract of a sign or token of a covenant made with *one*. Indeed, where the Covenant is with the whole race of mankind, and so, the *sign of the covenant* is to serve only for a *remembrance*, there, the sign may be either a *moral duty* or a *natural phenomenon*. This latter was the case in GOD's promise or covenant, not to destroy the earth any more by water. Here the Almighty, with equal marks of wisdom, made a natural and beautiful phenomenon, seen over the whole habitable earth, the *token* of that covenant. *And* GOD *said, This is the* TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. *I do* SET *my bow in the cloud, and*

* Chap. xx. ver. 12. † Gen. xvii. 11.

it

it shall be for a token of a Covenant between me and the earth, Gen. ix. 12, 13. Yet it is wonderful to consider how this matter has been mistaken. Perhaps the word *set* did not a little contribute to it: the expression being understood absolutely; when it should have been taken in the relative sense, of *set for a token*. And in this sense, and only in this sense, the *bow* was then FIRST *set in a cloud*. However, Dr. Burnet of the Charterhouse, who had a visionary theory to support, which made it necessary for him to maintain that the phenomenon of the Rainbow did not exist before the flood, endeavours to countenance that fancy from the passage above, by such a kind of reasoning as this, "That, had there been a Rainbow before the flood, it could not have been properly used as a *token* of GOD's *Covenant*, that he would no more drown the earth, because, being a common appearance, it would give no extraordinary assurance of security." And to this reasoning Tindal, the author of *Christianity as old as the Creation*, alludes. *Perhaps* (says he) *the not knowing the natural cause of the rainbow, occasioned that account we have in Genesis of its institution*, page 228, 229. Its *institution!* The expression is excellent. GOD's appointing the rainbow to be a *token* or memorial, *for perpetual generations*, of his covenant with mankind, is called, *the institution of the rainbow*. What ill expression is the homage to nonsense, for the privilege of Freethinking. However, his words shew, he took it for granted that Moses represents GOD as then FIRST *setting his bow in the clouds*. And it is the reasoning which we are at present concerned with. Now this, we say, is founded in gross ignorance of the nature of *simple* compacts and promises: in which, the *only security* for performance is the known good faith of the Promiser. But, in the case before us, the most novel or most supernatural appearance could add nothing to their assurance, which arose from the evidence of GOD's veracity. As, on the contrary, had the children of Noah been ignorant of this attribute of the Deity, such an extraordinary phenomenon could have given no assurance at all. For what then served the rainbow? For the wise purpose so well expressed by the sacred writer, for THE TOKEN OF THE COVENANT. That is, for a memorial or remembrance

remembrance of it throughout all generations. A method of universal practice in the contracts of all civilized nations. Indeed, had this remnant of the human race been made acquainted with GOD's Covenant or promise by a third person, and in a common way, there had then been occasion to accompany it with some extraordinary or supernatural appearance. But for what? Not to give credit to GOD's veracity; but to the veracity of the messenger who brought his Will. Now GOD revealed this promise *immediately* to the children of Noah. But here lies the mistake: Our Deists have put themselves in the place of those Patriarchs, when a much lower belonged to them; and, the promise being revealed to them only by a third hand, and in a common way, they refuse to believe it, because not accompanied with a miracle. In the mean time they forget the condition of the Patriarchs when this covenant was made with them; filled with terror and astonishment at the past, and with the most disquieting apprehensions of a future Deluge, they needed some superior assurance to allay their fears. Had not that been the case, a particular Covenant had not been made with them; and had their posterity all along continued in the same condition, we may certainly conclude, from the uniformity of GOD's dealings with mankind, that he would, from time to time, have renewed this Covenant, in the way it was first given; or have secured the truth of the tradition by a supernatural appearance. But those fears soon wore out: and Posterity, in a little time, became no more concerned in this particular promise, than in all the other instances of divine goodness to mankind. But *Moses*, as this great philosopher concludes, *had no knowledge of the natural cause of the rainbow*. It may be so: because I know of no use that knowledge would have been to his Mission. But he was acquainted with the *moral cause*, and the *effects* too, of COVENANTS, which was more to the purpose of his office and character; and which this freethinking DOCTOR OF LAWS should not have been so ignorant of.

2. But secondly, if the Jewish Prophets cannot convince our Sabbatarians, that the Mosaic day of rest was *a positive institution*; yet methinks the express words of Jesus might, who told the Sabbatarians of that time, the Pharisees,

Pharisees, That *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.* Mark ii. 27. Now were the observation of the Sabbath a natural duty, it is certain, *man was made for the Sabbath*, the end of his creation being for the observance of the MORAL LAW,—the worship of the Deity, Temperance and Justice: nor can we by natural light conceive any other end. On the contrary, all positive institutions *were made for man*, for the better direction of his conduct in certain situations of life; the observance of which is therefore to be regulated on the end for which they were instituted: for (contrary to the nature of moral duties) the observance of them may, in some circumstances, become hurtful to man, for whose benefit they were instituted; and whenever this is the case, God and nature grant a dispensation.

3. Thirdly, the primitive Christians, on the authority of this plain declaration of their blessed Master, treated the Sabbath as a positive Law, by changing the day dedicated to the service of Religion from the seventh to the first day, and thus abolished *one* positive Law, THE SABBATH instituted in memory of the *Creation*, and, by the authority of the Church, erected another, properly called THE LORD'S DAY, in memory of the Redemption.

P. 309. [SSSS] The author of the *Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* says—"They [the Pagans] "learnt the art [divination] in schools, or under disci- "pline, as the Jews did *prophesying* in the *Schools* and "*Colleges of the Prophets.* [For which *Wheatly's* "*Schools of the Prophets* is quoted] where the learned "Dodwell says, the candidates for prophecy were "taught the rules of divination practised by the Pagans, "who were skilled therein, and in possession of the art "long before them." P. 28.

P. 310. [TTTT] Dr. Mead, in his *Medica Sacra*, cap. iii. p. 25. observes that *what is said of the spirit of the Lord is not to be understood literally.* He did not reflect that the Vicegerent of the Theocracy is here spoken of. Otherwise, surely, he could not but acknowledge that if there was any such thing as the SPIRIT OF THE LORD existing in that administration, it must needs reside in the supreme Magistrate.

P. 311.

P. 311. [UUUU] There is a difficulty in the history of *David*, in which SPINOZA much exults, as it supports him in his impious undertaking on Sacred Scripture. It is this, in the xvith chapter of the first book of Samuel, we find David sent for to Court, to sooth Saul's melancholy with his harp. On his arrival, he gave so much satisfaction, that the distempered Monarch sent to his father to desire he might *stand before him*, ver. 22. that is, remain in his service. David hath leave; and becomes Saul's *Armour-bearer*, [ver. 21.] Yet in the very next chapter, viz. the xviith (which relates an incursion of the Philistines, and the defiance of Goliah), when David goes to Saul for leave to accept the challenge, neither the king, nor the captain of his host, know any thing of their champion or of his lineage. This is the difficulty, and a great one it is. But it would soon become none, in the usual way Critics have of removing difficulties, which is by supposing, that, whatever occasions them is *an interpolation*; and some blind manuscript is always at hand to support the blinder Criticism. But had more time been employed in the study of the *nature of Scripture History* and somewhat less in *collations* of manuscripts, those would have found a nearer way to the wood, who now cannot see wood for trees. In a word, the true solution seems to be this: David's adventure with Goliah was prior in time to his solacing Saul with his music. Which latter story is given by way of anticipation in chap. xvi. but very properly and naturally. For there the historian having related at large how GOD had rejected Saul, and anointed David, goes on, as it was a matter of highest moment in a RELIGIOUS HISTORY, to inform us of the effects both of one and the other; though we are not to suppose them the instantaneous effects. The effect of Saul's rejection was, he tells us, the departure of GOD's spirit from him, and his being troubled with an evil spirit [ver. 14.]: this leads him, naturally, to speak of the effect of David's election, namely, his being endowed with many divine graces; for Saul's malady was only to be alleviated by David's skill on the harp. When the historian had, in this very judicious manner, anticipated the story, he returns from the 14th to the 23d verse of the xvith chapter,

to

to the order of time, in the beginning of the xviith chapter. So that the true chronology of this part of David's life stands thus: He is anointed by Samuel—he carries provisions to his brethren, incamped against the Philistines, in the valley of Elah—he fights and overcomes Goliah—is received into the king's court—contracts a friendship with Jonathan—incurs Saul's jealousy—retires home to his father—is, after some time, sent for back to court, to sooth Saul's melancholy with his harp—proves successful, and is made his armour-bearer—and, again, excites Saul's jealousy, who endeavours to smite him with his javelin. This whole history is to be found between the first verse of the xvith, and the tenth of the xviiith chapter. Within this, is the anticipation above-mentioned, beginning at the fourteenth verse of the xvith chapter, and ending at the twenty-third verse. Which anticipated history, in order of time, comes in between the 9th and 10th verses of the xviiith chapter, where, indeed the breach is apparent. For in the 9th verse it is said, *And Saul eyed David from that day forward.* He had just begun, as the text tells us, to entertain a jealousy of David from the women's saying in their songs, *Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands*—"*From that day forward Saul eyed David,*" *i. e.* watched over his conduct. Yet, in the very next verse, it says *And it came to pass on the* MORROW, *that the evil spirit from* GOD *came upon Saul—And David played with his hand—And Saul cast the javelin.* This could never be on the *morrow* of that day on which he first began to entertain a jealousy; for the text says, *from that day forward* he began to watch over his conduct, to find whether his jealousy was well grounded. Here then is the breach, between which, in order of time, comes in the relation of the evil spirit's falling upon Saul; his sending for David from his father's house, &c. For when Saul began first, on account of the songs of the women, to grow jealous of David, and to watch his behaviour, David, uneasy in his situation, asked leave to retire; which we may suppose was easily granted. He is sent for again to court: Saul again grows jealous: but the cause, we are now told, was different: *And Saul was afraid of David,* BECAUSE *the*

the Lord was WITH HIM, *and was* DEPARTED FROM SAUL, ver. 12. This plainly shews, that the departing of GOD's spirit from Saul was after the conquest of Goliah: consequently, that all between ver. 14 and 23 of the xvith chapter is an anticipation, and, in order of time, comes in between ver. 9 and 10 of the xviiith chapter, where there is a great breach discoverable by the disjointed parts of distant time. Thus the main difficulty is mastered. But there is another near as stubborn, which this solution likewise removes. When David is recommended by the courtiers for the cure of Saul's disorder, he is represented as *a mighty valiant man, a man of war and prudent in matters, and that the Lord was with him*, chap. xvi. 18. *i. e.* a soldier well versed in affairs, and successful in his undertakings. Accordingly he is sent for; and preferred to a place which required valour, strength, and experience; he is made Saul's *armour-bearer*. Yet when afterwards, according to the common chronology, he comes to fight Goliah, he proves a raw unexperienced stripling, unused to arms, and unable to bear them; and, as such, despised by the Giant. I will not mispend the reader's time, in reckoning up the strange and forced senses the critics have put upon these two passages, to make them consistent; but only observe, that this reformation of the chronology renders all clear and easy. David had vanquished the Philistine; was become a favourite of the people; and, on that account, the object of Saul's jealousy; to avoid the ill effects of which, he prudently retired. During this recess, Saul was seized with his disorder. His servants supposed it might be alleviated by music; Saul consents to the remedy, and orders an artist to be sought for. They were acquainted with David's skill on the harp, and likewise with Saul's indisposition towards him. It was a delicate point, which required address; and therefore they recommend him in this artful manner—*The son of Jesse is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person*:—That is, "as you must have one constantly in attendance, both at court, and in your military expeditions, to be always at hand on occasion, the son of Jesse will become both

stations well: he will strengthen your camp, and adorn your court; for he is a tried soldier, and of a graceful presence. You have nothing to fear from his ambition, for you saw with what prudence he went into voluntary banishment, when his popularity had incurred your displeasure."—Accordingly Saul is prevailed on: David is sent for, and succeeds with his music. This dissipates all former umbrage; and, as one that was to be ever in attendance, he is made his *armour-bearer*. This sunshine continued, till David's great successes again awakened Saul's jealousy; and then the lifted javelin was, as usual, to strike off all court-payments. Thus we see how these difficulties are cleared up, and what light is thrown upon the whole history by the supposition of an anticipation in the latter part of the xvith chapter, an anticipation the most natural, proper, and necessary for the purpose of the historian. The only reason I can conceive of its lying so long unobserved is, that, in the xviith chapter, ver. 15. it is said, *But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.* Now this being when the Israelites were encamped in Elah against the Philistines, and after the relation of his going to court to sooth Saul's troubled spirit with his music, seems to fix the date of his standing before Saul in quality of musician in the order of time in which it is related. But the words, *David went and returned from Saul*, seem not to be rightly understood: they do not mean, David left Saul's Court where he had resided, but that he left Saul's Camp to which he had been summoned. The case was this: A sudden invasion of the Philistines had penetrated to Shochöh, *which belonged to Judah.* Now on such occasions, there always went out a general summons for all able to bear arms, to meet at an appointed rendezvous; where a choice being made of those most fit for service, the rest were sent back again to their several homes. To such a rendezvous, all the tribes at this time assembled. Amongst the men of Beth-lehem, came Jesse and his eight sons; the three eldest were enrolled into the troops, and the rest sent home again. But of these, David is only particularly named; as the history related particularly to him. *Now David was the son of that Ephrathite*

thite of Bethlehem-Judah, whose name was Jesse, and he had eight sons: and the man went amongst men for an old man in the days of Saul. And the three eldest sons of Jesse went and followed Saul to the battle—And David was the youngest, and the three eldest followed Saul. But David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem, i. e. he was dismissed by the captains of the host, as too young for service. And in these sentiments, we find, they continued, when he returned with a message from his father to the camp.—I have only to add, that this way of anticipation is very frequent with this sacred historian.—In the xviiith chapter, ver. 11. it is said, *And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it: and David avoided out of his presence* TWICE. But one of these times relates to a second casting of the javelin a considerable time after the first, here spoken of, which is recorded in chap. xix. 10. So again the historian telling us in the xth chapter, how Saul, when he was first anointed by Samuel, prophesied amongst the Prophets, says, *And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw, that behold, he prophesied among the prophets; then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?—Therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets?* ver. 11, 12. But it is evident, that the original of the proverb, was his second prophesying amongst the prophets at *Naioth*, recorded chap. xix. both for the reasons given above, and for these: 1. Saul was not at this time known to the people; and, 2. The original of the proverb is said to arise from this second prophesying, ver. 24. Therefore the account of the proverb in the xth chapter is given by way of anticipation.

P. 312. [XXXX] A malignant and very dull buffoon, who appears to have had little idea of this matter, and less inclination to be better instructed, lately published a large and virulent invective against the personal character of DAVID; his pretended provocation was as extraordinary; it was a pulpit parallel; of which he ironically complains, as injurious to a modern character of

great name, who is complimented with a likeness to the King of Israel. He was answered as he deserved.—But, if Divines think they can manage infidel cavils by the aid of sums and systems, instead of studying to acquaint themselves with the nature and genius of the Jewish dispensation, as it lies in the Bible, unbelievers will have little to apprehend, how bad soever be the cause which a low vanity has put them upon supporting.

P. 323. [YYYY] There were no sort of men more averse to the system here defended of Jewish customs borrowed from Egypt, than those Puritans. Yet when they could serve a turn by adopting it, they made no scruple of so doing. Thus, in order to disgrace the *surplice*, they venture to say, in the *Declaration of the Ministers of London*, published 1566, That *the surplice, or white linen garment, came from the* EGYPTIANS *into the Jewish church.*

P. 327. [ZZZZ] For, with regard to *every thing's being exactly prescribed; from which direction it was not lawful to make the least deviation*, Spencer acknowledges this as fully as Witsius himself. "Nihil enim "cultum divinum spectans verbis obscuris aut incerti "sensus a Mose traditum, nil cæco vel præcipiti zelo, "nihil prurienti Judæorum ingenio, vel naturæ humanæ "rerum novarum in sacris avidæ, relictum fuit. Nempe "lex de minimis plerisque curavit. Ipsi arcæ annuli, "&c." De Leg. Rit. Heb. l. i. c. 10. sect. 5. And it is remarkable, that he employs this very circumstance, with great weight as well as ingenuity, to inforce the opposite conclusion; namely, that God admitted some rites in use amongst the Gentile nations in compliance to the people's prejudices:—Ipse ritus Mosaïcos instituendi modus huic sententiæ non parum præsidii præbet. Deus enim non tantum eorum materiam, sed et locum, tempus, ipsum etiam corporis situm quandoque quo præstari debebant, aliasque minoris notæ circumstantias, accurate præscripsit. Et postquam Deus minimas quasque circumstantias rituum singulorum tradidisset, præcepto cautum est. Deut. iv. 2. ne quid e ceremoniis nempe vetitis iis adderetur; aut quicquam e ceremoniis

nempe

nempe præceptis adimeretur. Nemo vero qui judicio valet, opinari potest Deum horum rituum minutias accurate adeo præscripsisse, ex ullo quo ipse eorum amore vel desiderio tangebatur. A ratione multo minus abest, gentium et Hebræorum ritus haud paucos (si materiam eorum vel substantiam spectemus) proximam inter se similitudinem et affinitatem habuisse, IDEOQUE lege curatum fuisse, ne eodem modo peragerentur, sed ut circumstantiis quibusdam peculiaribus et a Deo præscriptis ab invicem discernerentur. Nam Israëlitæ ritus suos omnes e Dei præscripto peragentes, se in Jehovæ [non dei alicujus ethnici] honorem sacra sua præstare testarentur; et ratio temporum exegit, ut cultus Deo præstitus quandam ἰδιότητα retineret, nec ad ritus gentium nimis accedere, vel ab iis plusquam par erat abire videretur. Mosis ætate res in loco tam lubrico et ancipiti sitæ sunt, quod summa tantum sapientia limites eos definire nôrat, quos ultra citrave non potuit consistere Dei veri cultus. Lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 1.

P. 329. [AAAAA] I cannot therefore agree with Mr. Whiston in the high value he sets upon a passage of Manetho— *This* (says he) *is a very valuable testimony of Manetho's, that the laws of Osarsiph or Moses were not in compliance with, but in opposition to, the customs of the Egyptians.* Translat. of Josephus, p. 993. However, though this fairy treasure vanish, it is some comfort that we do not want it.

P. 352. [BBBBB] That very able interpreter of Scripture, father Houbigant, understands these words of the Prophet as spoken of the *Jewish Law*. "Itaque "in præceptis *non bonis* intelligendæ veniunt ejusmodi "leges quæ ad pœnam propositæ erant, non ad mer"cedem; quales erant leges de suppliciis, de aquis ab "uxore suspectæ pudicitiæ bibendis, de leprosis ab "hominum cœtu arcendis, et aliæ quædam, quæ ab "irato Legislatore proficisci videbantur." In loc. This learned person was too well versed in the style of Scripture, in the subject of the Prophecy, and in the history of the Jews, to imagine, when God speaks in the character of Legislator, of *giving Statutes and Judgments*

that he meant the general permission of divine Providence to suffer a people to fall into a number of senseless and idolatrous practices. Indeed, a little to soften the character given of *Statutes not good*, he supposes they were thus qualified on account of their being *penal Laws*: and so makes what I understand to be a representation of the moral genius of the ritual Law in general, only the physical quality of some particular Rites. But the very words of the Prophecy evince that a Body of laws was meant; and the character of the Speaker shews, that the subject is of *moral*, not of *physical* good and evil.

P. 353. [CCCCC] Speaking of MARSHAM and SPENCER, he says: In omnium nunc fere eruditorum manibus versatur Nobilissimi Viri Johannis Marshami CANON CHRONICUS. Opus quantivis pretii; quod uti Authori suo multa lectione, accurata meditatione, plurimisque lucubrationibus stetit, ita Lectori per salebrosos obscurissimæ Antiquitatis recessus viam non paullo faciliorem expeditioremque effecit. Sed ut in humanis rebus nihil omni ex parte beatum esse solet, ita nec pulcherrimo huic corpori suos deesse nævos videas—Eandem sententiam magno nuper animo atque apparatu tuitus est Johannes Spencerus in Dissertatione *de Urim & Thummim*. Ubi ita vir doctissimus instituit, *&c.*—Multa a viris doctissimis congesta sunt, quibus huic suæ assertioni fidem faciant. Ea autem quum plurimum reconditæ contineant eruditionis, non videntur Clarissimi Authores sua laude, uti nec studiosi lectores jucunditate atque utilitate, quæ exinde percipi potest, fraudandi esse.—Super omnibus denique ἐπίκρισιν meam subjungam, eo argumentorum robore quod suscepti negotii ratio patitur firmandam. Nequaquam ea mente ut doctissimorum virorum laboribus detraham; sed ut me & Lectores meos in investiganda veritate exercecam, sit forte detur curva corrigere & engregio inspersos abstergere corpore nævos, p. 1—4. This candour was the more extraordinary, as Sir J. Marsham had given but too many marks of disaffection to revealed Religion. And though that great and good man Dr. Spencer was entirely free from all reasonable suspicion of this kind; yet, it must be owned, that too intent on a favourite argument, he was apt to express himself

himself somewhat crudely. He had a bright and vigorous imagination, which, now and then, got the better of his judgment; and the integrity of his heart made him careless in giving it the reins; sometimes in a dangerous road. Thus, for instance, in his fine discourse *concerning Prodigies*, speaking of a certain quality in the soul, which, as he says, makes it *greatly impressive to the persuasion of parallels, equalities, similitudes, in the frame and government of the world*, he goes on in this strange manner: "This general temper of the soul "easily inclines it to believe great and mighty changes in "states, usher'd with the solemnity of some mighty and "analogous changes in nature, and that all terrible evils "are prefac'd or attended with some prodigious and "amazing alterations in the creation—Hence, perhaps, "it is that we generally find great troubles and judg-"ments on earth described, especially by persons *ecsta-"tical, Prophets and Poets* (whose speeches usually "rather follow the easy sense of the soul than the rigid "truth of things) by all the examples of horror and "confusion in the frame of the creation. The prophet "David describes GOD's going out to judgment thus," &c. p. 71, 72. 2d ed. Dr. Spencer seems to have been misled in this philosophic solution by a greater Master, who, however, talks still more grossly of what he seems to have understood as little. "In matters of faith and "religion (says lord Verulam) we raise our imagination "above our reason: which is the cause why Religion "sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, "parables, visions, dreams." Adv. of learning, b. 2d. The serious christian reader cannot but be offended at this injurious representation of the holy Prophets. Such remarks as these are altogether unworthy these two excellent men. It is false in fact that Prophetic figures were enthusiastic or fantastic visions raised by, and then represented to, the imagination. I have shewn that the images, which the Prophets employed, composed the common phraseology of their times; and were employed by them because this figurative language was well understood, and still better relished by the People. [See p. 134, of this vol.]—But is it therefore fitting that such writers should be treated,

by every dirty scribbler, as Libertines, Deists, and secret propagators of Infidelity, for inadvertencies, which a man like the candid Witsius would only call *nævi in pulcherrimo corpore?*

P. 355. [DDDDD] Let me here observe how this very circumstance in Moses's conduct, acquits him of all suspicion of that kind of FRAUD so much in use amongst the best human Lawgivers of Antiquity. The Mosaic Dispensation had been treated by our Freethinkers with great liberties. It was therefore offered by the late learned and ingenious Dr. Middleton, as a means to rescue it from their contempt, and to solve the difficulties which attend it, without hurting the authority whereon it stands, to suppose SOME DEGREE OF FICTION in certain cases, in the Mosaic writings. And this he endeavoured to make credible, from the practice of the ancient Lawgivers. Now I think this supposition neither true nor probable. 1. If we consider what it was that induced the ancient Lawgivers to employ *fiction*, we shall find it arose, in part, from their false pretences to a divine Mission; and, in part, from the imaginary necessity of propagating Polytheism. As to the first, Moses's pretensions to a divine mission are here allowed. And it is notorious that he preached up the one true GOD, the Creator, in opposition to all kinds of Polytheism. No occasion therefore remained for the use of *fiction*. And we can hardly think he would employ it without occasion. What we have then to shew is, that the only cause why the ancient sages employed *fiction* (besides the support of a false mission) was to hide the absurdities of Polytheism. This indeed hath been already done for other purposes, in several places of this Work: So that I shall here confine myself to one single proof. Macrobius assures us, that the ancient sages did not admit the fabulous in all their disputations; but in those only which related to the SOUL, to the HEAVENLY BODIES, and to the HERO-GODS. Sciendum est tamen non in omnem disputationem philosophos admittere *fabulosa* vel *licita*, sed his uti solent cum vel de animâ vel de AERIIS ÆTHERIISVE POTESTATIBUS, vel de CETERIS DIS loquuntur. [in Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2.] On the contrary, when they discoursed of the FIRST CAUSE,

CAUSE, then every thing was delivered exactly agreeable to the truth. Ceterum cum ad SUMMUM ET PRINCIPEM OMNIUM DEUM—tractatus se audet attollere—NIHIL FABULOSUM penitus attingunt. [*id. ib.*] The reason of their using *fiction* or fable, in treating of their false Gods, was to hide the absurdities attendant on their Worship; a Worship thought to be necessary. Hence, as hath been shewn elsewhere, [vol. iii. of the Div. Leg. b. iii. sect. 6.] they were led from the *absurdity* and the *necessity* together, to conclude *that utility, and not truth, was the end of Religion*; and from another mistake there mentioned, *that utility and truth do not coincide.* From these two principles necessarily arose a third, *that it was expedient and lawful to deceive for the Public good.* And, on this last, was founded the practice of *fiction* above mentioned. Now the whole Religion of Moses being established on that very doctrine, in the handling of which the ancient Sages neither needed nor used *fiction*; and at the same time directly opposing that very superstition, for the sake of which, the *fiction* was employed; we conclude, with certainty, that Moses employed NO DEGREE OF FICTION in the composition or in the propagation of the Jewish Religion. But 2. That which he had no occasion to use, we think it impossible he should use, if his pretensions were (as is here allowed) real. We have, indeed, in order to display the wisdom of GOD's Dispensation, endeavoured to shew that he employed, in the contrivance of it, all those arts (though in an infinitely more perfect degree) which human Lawgivers are wont to use, in the legitimate exercise of civil Government: for that, without forcing the Will, no other method was sufficient to accomplish the end designed. But this, we presume, is as different from *fiction* as truth is from falsehood. Thus far, we think, GOD, in his dispensations to men, would chuse to do, rather than to force the Will. But could we suppose a People, favoured with a divine Revelation, so absurdly circumstanced as to be incapable of being worked upon by common means, without the use of *some degree of fiction*, we should then conclude GOD would rather chuse miraculously to overrule the Will: because we conceive *divine Revelation* with *human fiction* to be a mixture of things utterly

utterly incompatible; that there can be no alliance between GOD and Belial; nor any union between the Spirit of Truth, and the Father of Lies.

P. 355. [EEEEE] "Suppose (says Dr. Stebbing) a "Deist should allege that the Israelites learned this "doctrine in Egypt where Moses himself also might have "learnt it, *How would you prove the contrary?*" Examination, p. 33, 34.

Should a *Deist allege this*, as making anything *against* my argument, or *for* his own cause, I should say he knew as little either of one or the other as Dr. Stebbing himself does: For my argument being addressed to the Deist, supposes that Moses and the Israelites might have learnt the doctrine in Egypt; and on that supposition, defies them to find a reason, exclusive of the *extraordinary Providence*, why Moses did not make so useful and necessary a doctrine (in favour of which his People were much prejudiced) the Sanction of his Laws. Their acquaintance with the doctrine in Egypt, I supposed: This acquaintance my argument required me to suppose: and yet this Answerer of my Book knew so little of its contents, as to ask, How I WOULD PROVE THE CONTRARY? If the learned Doctor had any pertinent drift in this question, you can discover it only by supposing him to go upon this ridiculous assumption, that what the Jews once learned they could never either *unlearn* or forget, and therefore if they had learned the doctrine of a future state in Egypt, they could not be so ignorant of it as, I say, they were. But to clear up his conceptions in this matter he may have recourse, if he pleases, to the latter division of the fifth section of the fifth Book, of the Divine Legation.

P. 357. [FFFFF] This was the character it bore even so late as the time of Jeremiah, who tells us, that the rebellious Israelites, frightened at the power of the king of Babylon, refused to stay any longer in Judea, saying, *No, but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread, and there will we dwell.* chap. xlii. 14.

P. 362. [GGGGG] This famous book (as is the fortune of all which bring new proofs for Revelation in a new way) hath undergone many heavy censures both from Jews and Christians. Those blame him for attempting to assign reasons for the Ceremonial ordinances; These for explaining Scripture on the principles of Aristotle. But both, as usual, expose their own ignorance and prevention. In this work, the excellent author studied the real honour of GOD, together with the good of those to whom his discourse was addressed. And because its end and design appears to be little understood, and depends on a curious piece of history, neglected by his editors and translators, I shall give the Reader a short account of it. In the first flourishing times of the Saracene Empire, (as we learn from William of Paris in his book *De Legibus*) a great number of Jews, devoting themselves to the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, (then cultivated by the Arabs with a kind of scientific fanaticism) and thereby contracting not only an inquisitive but a disputatious habit, set themselves to examine into the REASONS OF THE JEWISH LAWS; which being unable to discover, they too hastily concluded them to be useless, absurd, and of human invention; and so apostatized, in great numbers, from the Religion of their Fathers.—"Postquam "autem Chaldæis sive Babyloniis & genti Arabum com-"mixti sunt, & miscuerunt se studiis eorum & philoso-"phiæ; & secuti sunt opiniones philosophorum; nesci-"entes legis suæ credulitates & Abrahæ fidem contra "disputationes eorum & rationes defendere: hinc est "quod facti sunt in lege erronei, & in fide ipsius Abrahæ "hæretici; maxime postquam regnum SARACENORUM "diffusum est super habitationem eorum. Exinde enim "æternitatem mundi & alios Aristotelis errores secuti "sunt multi eorum. Hincque pauci veri Judæi (hoc "est, qui non in parte aliquâ credulitatis suæ Saraceni "sunt, aut Aristotelicis consentientes erroribus) in terrâ "Saracenorum inveniuntur, de his qui inter philosophos "commorantur. Dedit enim occasionem non levem "apostasiæ hujusmodi ea quæ videtur multorum manda-"torum absurditas vel inutilitas: dum enim apparet in "eis absurditas & inutilitas, nulla autem præceptionis "aut inhibitionis earum ratio, nulla observantiarum uti-

"litas,

" litas, non est mirum si ab eis receditur: sed tanquam " onera supervacanea projiciuntur." fol. 18. In these times, and under this Empire, our Author wrote. So that nothing could be more useful than to shew his apostatizing brethren that the SCRIPTURES might be defended, nay, even explained on the principles of ARISTOTLE, and that the precepts of the CEREMONIAL LAW were founded in the highest reasonableness and convenience—Maimonides, where, in his preface, he gives his reasons for writing this discourse, plainly hints at that apostasy—*Vertiginosos vero quod attinet, quorum cerebrum est pollutum & vanis futilibusque ac falsis opinionibus repletum, quique sibi imaginantur se magnos esse* PHILOSOPHOS, *ac theologos, illos scio fugituros a multis, contra multa etiam objectiones moturos.—Deus vero benedictus novit, quanto-peré timuerim conscribere ea, quæ explicare & consignare volui in hoc libro. Nam quia talia sunt de quibus nullus ex gente nostra in hac captivitate quicquam scripsit hactenus, quâ ratione primus ego prodire in hac palæstra audeo: verum suffultus sum duobus principiis; primo, quod de istius modi negotio dictum sit, tempus est faciendi Domino :* IRRITAM FECERUNT LEGEM TUAM, *&c. secundo, eo quod sapientes nostri dicunt, Omnia opera tua fiant ad gloriam Dei.*

P. 364. [HHHHH] The learned author of the elegant and useful *Letter from Rome* has here taken to himself what was meant in general of the numerous writers on the same subject; and so has done it the honour of a confutation, in a postscript to the last edition of that *Letter*. But the same friendly considerations which induced him to end the postscript with declaring his unwillingness to enter further into controversy with me, disposed me not to enter into it at all. This, and neither any neglect of him, nor any force I apprehended in his arguments, kept me silent. However, I owe so much both to myself and the public, as to take notice of a misrepresentation of my argument; and a change of the question in dispute between us: without which notice the controversy (as I agree to leave it where it is) can scarce be fairly estimated.—" A paragraph in Mr. Warburton's " *Divine Legation of Moses* obliges me (says Dr. Mid-" dleton) to detain the reader a little longer, in order to " obviate

" obviate the prejudices which the authority of so cele-
" brated a writer may probably inject, to the disadvan-
" tage of my argument.—I am at a loss to conceive
" what could move my learned friend to pass so severe
" a censure upon an argument which has hitherto been
" espoused by all protestants; admitted by many papists;
" and evaded rather than contradicted by any. But
" whatever was his motive, which, I persuade myself,
" was no unfriendly one, he will certainly pardon me,
" if, pursuing the full conviction of my mind, I attempt
" to defend an established principle, confirmed by strong
" and numerous facts, against an opinion wholly new and
" strange to me; and which, if it can be supposed to
" have any force, overthrows the whole credit and use
" of my present work.—He allows that the writers, who
" have undertaken to *deduce the rites of popery from*
" *paganism, have shewn an exact and surprising likeness*
" *between them in a great variety of instances.* This
" (says he) one would think, is allowing every thing
" that the cause demands: it is every thing, I dare say,
" that those writers desire*." That it is *every thing*
those writers desire, I can easily believe, since I see,
my learned friend himself hath considered these two
assertions, 1. *The religion of the present Romans derived*
from that of their Heathen ancestors; and, 2. *An exact*
conformity, or uniformity rather of worship between
popery and paganism: He hath considered them, I say,
as convertible propositions: for, undertaking, as his title-
page informs us, to prove *the religion of the present Ro-*
mans derived from that of their Heathen ancestors; and
having gone through his arguments, he concludes them
in these words, " But it is high time for me to conclude,
" being persuaded, if I do not flatter myself too much,
" that I have sufficiently made good WHAT I FIRST
" UNDERTOOK TO PROVE, an exact conformity, or uni-
" formity rather, of worship between popery and pa-
" ganism †." But what he *undertook to prove*, we see,
was, *The religion of the present Romans derived from*
their Heathen ancestors: That I have therefore, as my
learned friend observes, *allowed every thing those writers*
desire, is very likely. But then whether I have *allowed*

* Postscript, p. 228. † Letter, p. 224.

every

every thing that the cause demands, is another question: which I think can never be determined in the affirmative, till it be shewn that no other probable cause can be assigned of this *exact conformity between Papists and Pagans*, but a borrowing or derivation from one to the other. And I guess, that now this is never likely to be done, since I myself have actually assigned another probable cause, namely, the same spirit of superstition operating in the like circumstances.

But this justly celebrated writer goes on—"This question according to his [the author of *The Divine Legation*] notion is not to be decided by facts, but by a principle of a different kind, *a superior knowledge of human nature**." Here I am forced to complain of a want of candour, a want not natural to my learned friend. For, whence is it, I would ask, that he collects, *that, according to my notion, this question is not to be decided by facts, but a superior knowledge of human nature?* From any thing I have said? Or from any thing I have omitted to say? Surely, not from any thing I have said (though he seems to insinuate so much by putting the words *a superior knowledge of human nature* in Italic characters as they are called) because I leave him in possession of his *facts*, and give them all the validity he desires; which he himself observes; and, from thence, as we see, endeavours to draw some advantage to his hypothesis:—Nor from any thing I have omitted to say; for, in this short paragraph where I deliver my opinion, and, by reason of its evidence, offer but one single argument in its support, that argument arises from a FACT, *viz.* that the *superstitious customs in question were many ages later than the conversion of the imperial city to the Christian faith:* whence I conclude, that the ruling Churchmen could have no motive in borrowing from Pagan customs, either as those customs were then fashionable in themselves, or respectable for the number or quality of their followers. And what makes this the more extraordinary is, that my learned friend himself immediately afterwards quotes these words; and then tells the reader, that *my argument consists of an* HISTORICAL FACT, *and of a consequence deduced from it.* It

* Postscript, p. 228.

appears

appears therefore, that, according to my notion, the question *is* to be decided by *facts*, and not by a *superior knowledge of human nature*. Yet I must confess I then thought, and do so still, that a *superior knowledge of human nature* would do no harm, as it might enable men to judge better of *facts* than we find they are generally accustomed to do. But will this excuse a candid representer for saying, that *the question, according to my notion, was not to be decided by facts, but a superior knowledge of human nature?* However, to do my learned friend all justice, I must needs say, that, as if these were only words of course, that is, words of controversy, he goes on, through the body of his postscript, to invalidate my argument from *fact*; and we hear no more of a *superior knowledge of human nature* than in this place where it was brought in to be laughed at.

As to the argument, it must even shift for itself. It has done more mischief already than I was aware of: and forced my learned friend to extend his charge from the *modern* to the *ancient church of Rome*. For my argument, from the low birth of the superstitions in question, coming against his hypothesis, after he had once and again declared the purpose of his letter to be the exposing of the Heathenish idolatry and superstition of the PRESENT *church of Rome*; he was obliged, in support of that hypothesis, to shew that even the early ages of the church were not free from the infection. Which hath now quite shifted the subject with the scene, and will make the argument of his piece from henceforth to run thus, *The religion of the present Romans derived from their early Christian ancestors; and theirs, from the neighbouring Pagans.* To speak freely, my reasoning (which was an argument *ad hominem*, and, as such, I thought, would have been reverenced) reduced the learned writer to this dilemma; either to allow the fact, and give up his hypothesis; or to deny the fact, and change his question. And he has chosen the latter as the lesser evil. As to the fact; that the Churches of the first ages might do that on their own heads, which Moses did upon authority, i. e. indulge their Pagan converts in such of their customs as could not be easily abused to

to

to superstition, may be safely acknowledged. My learned friend has produced a few instances of such indulgence, which the censure of some of the more scrupulous of those times hath brought to our knowledge. But the great farraginous body of Popish rites and ceremonies, the subject of my learned friend's *Letter from Rome*, had surely a different original. They were brought into the Church when Paganism was in part abhorred and in part forgotten; and when the same spirit of sordid superstition which had overspread the Gentile world, had now deeply infected the Christian.

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